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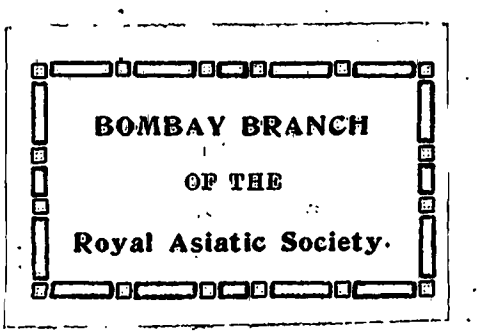

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NARRATIVE,

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Narrative

OF THE LATE

REVOLUTION

IN

HOLLAND.

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BY G. W. CHAD.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE writer of the following pages arrived in Holland soon after the landing of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange; and, being aided by the countenance and protection of Lord Clancarty, he had the good fortune, during a residence of near four months in that country, to obtain the confidence of many of the distinguished and honourable persons, who were most able to give correct information concerning the late Revolution. M. M. Repelaer, Van Hogendorp, and Count Styrum, who were among the most active in promoting the late events, had the kindness not only to communicate to the author the information of which they were individually and exclusively possessed, but also to afford him their constant and friendly assistance, in procuring documents and intelligence from other quarters. It was thus that the author acquired the means of composing the work

which he now presents to the public;—and although he may justly fear that he has committed many errors in the selection and arrangement of his materials, he begs leave to assure his readers, that no fact is advanced which is not grounded either upon official reports, or upon the verbal testimony of the persons who performed or witnessed it.

The author, however, has not had the presumption to imagine himself qualified to write a history of the Dutch Revolution. His only object has been to give a sketch of the principal circumstances attending that event, and thereby to afford his humble assistance to the historian, who, at a more remote period, may lay before the public a detailed and complete account of the changes which have of late astonished the world, and of which the circumstances related in the following pages form no inconsiderable part.

London, June 17, 1814.

INTRODUCTION.

The rapid advance of the allied armies in the autumn of the year 1813, and the panic which consequently seized the French authorities in Holland, must undoubtedly be considered as the immediate causes of the late happy Revolution. But the eagerness with which the Dutch people seized the opportunity thus afforded them of restoring the Prince of Orange, and the union of formerly discordant parties in his favour, must be traced to more distant sources—and will be found chiefly in the evils which Holland had endured in the course of the preceding nineteen years.

About the commencement of the French Revolution, Holland was the prey of adverse factions, who had obtained the general names of Orangemen and Patriots—

but were, nevertheless, subdivided into subordinate parties. The extreme Orangemen were anxious to increase the influence of the Stadtholder to the utmost, and, on that account, were opposed to the moderate Orangemen, who were willing to support him in the full exercise of his constitutional power, without permitting him to exceed it. Of the Patriots again, some were desirous of reducing the power of the Stadtholder, and establishing an oligarchy in its place, under the influence of France; while others sought the entire subversion of the old government, and the introduction of a system of complete democracy. It would not be easy to ascertain the respective strength and influence of these several parties; but, in general, it may be observed, that the ancient families and the lower orders of the people were almost all Orangemen, and that the Patriots consisted principally of the middle classes, many of whom had

suddenly advanced themselves in the world, and were desirous to add power and distinction to the wealth they had acquired.

The interference of Prussia, in the year 1787, instead of crushing, had only exasperated the Patriots. An increased influence was thus given to the most violent, who afterwards not only succeeded in overpowering the others, but compelled them to join in measures entirely inconsistent with their original objects. A deep-rooted resentment against the government of the Stadtholder was conceived. It was embittered by some years of reflection and disappointment—when the progress of the French Revolution, and of the French armies, seemed to offer the means of establishing a free republican government. Unhappily for Holland, the opportunity was not lost by the misguided and imprudent Patriots; the major part of whom, so far forgot the duty they owed their country, as to welcome and assist the advance of the

French revolutionary army on its first appearance on the frontiers, in the year 1794.

The events which ensued require no recapitulation. It is sufficient to say that the Dutch were robbed of their national independence, and of their personal freedom. While the words Liberty and Equality were every where emblazoned, the French ambassador assumed an oriental despotism; and the language and forms of a free government were used only to sanction a foreign tyranny, and its consequent oppression.

Holland, thus subjected to an arbitrary government, disguised in the garb and image of freedom, was in the most hopeless and degraded state to which a nation can be reduced, when Napoleon reared his imperial throne. This unhappy country was soon afterwards directed to prepare for the reception of a king. The discipline which the Dutch had undergone, might have been supposed sufficient to en-

sure a favourable reception to any change in their government. But, when Lewis Buonaparte entered into his dominions, in the year 1806, no applause or approbation was expressed, or could be procured. The very lowest of the people refused the bribes that were tendered to them. An attempt was made in vain to hire the turf-carriers at the Hague to take the horses from the new king's carriage, and draw him into the town: out of a body of eight hundred men, each of whom was offered four ducats for his trouble, not one could be found to accept the wages of servility; and Lewis was compelled to dispense with the ceremony he had coveted. Upon this, as well as on many other occasions, the populace manifested their freedom from political corruption.

Lewis, however, though coldly received, was, in many respects, a friend to Holland. He was of an easy and affable disposition; and although he felt acutely when the people

refused him marks of respect and applause, which was frequently the case, his temper was not soured, and he conceived no resentment. He endeavoured to deserve popularity by serving the country; and, though his power was scanty, his efforts were not always unsuccessful. He exerted himself to avert or soften the tyranny of his brother, and was ever desirous of supporting the honour, and contributing to the prosperity of the Dutch nation.—Friendly to commerce, and desirous to promote it to the utmost of his power, he was so averse to the continental system, that during his reign, every facility was given to his subjects to elude it; and, in one instance, when he was compelled by the French ambassador to order the sale of twenty vessels, which had infringed the Berlin and Milan decrees, he caused the proceeds of the sale to be privately restored to the owners. He further attempted to conciliate the people, by making himself

acquainted with their language, and desiring it to be spoken to him. He imposed no restraint on public opinion, and would not consent to introduce that despicable system of police, of which the object is to betray the thoughts and words of private individuals. There was, however, a degree of fickleness in his character, which prevented confidence—and his private expenses were prodigal. He had a childish desire to purchase every thing that pleased him, and he never considered the price of his acquisitions. Many houses were bought by him in different parts of Holland at an exorbitant rate, furnished and fitted up with great splendour, and then abandoned with disgust. The profuseness of his expenditure was peculiarly offensive to the Dutch people, and very injurious to a country whose finances were already exhausted.

In the course of his attempts to protect his adopted country against French op-

pression, he had frequent conflicts with Napoleon, whose tyranny had become so odious and insupportable to him, that it is asserted, that at the time of the Walcheren expedition, if the English troops had advanced into the country, he would have joined them, and declared war against France. However this may be, his reign was approaching to a close. When he entered Holland, he had declared that he never would sanction the introduction of the conscription, or the abolition of the public debt. These measures, as well as the enforcement of the continental system, were extremely dreaded by the Dutch; and Lewis, after struggling for more than three years against the tyranny of his brother, chose rather to abdicate his throne, than to retain it as the instrument of foreign oppression. He left an addition of ninety millions of florins,* about nine millions

* It is difficult to fix the value of the florin or guilder, when compared with English money, as it continually va-

sterling to the national debt—many traces of his magnificence, and some regret, which was increased by the subsequent pressure of imperial despotism.

Soon after Holland was annexed to the French empire, two-thirds of the national debt were abolished—the conscription law was introduced—and the Berlin and Milan decrees were rigidly enforced. But, as the extent of the evils inflicted upon the Dutch people by the Emperor Napoleon seems not to be generally understood, a more particular statement will now be presented to the reader of the situation of Holland, from the abdication of King Lewis, in 1810, to the late Revolution, in 1813.

Previous to the union of Holland with the French empire, all that part of the territory of the former United Provinces,

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ries with the rate of exchange. The pound sterling is, throughout this work, reckoned at ten florins; though, in April, 1814, it was not worth more than eight and a half.

which was situated beyond the Waal, had been ceded to France. The kingdom of Holland consisted of the departments of the Zuyder Zee, the mouths of the Maese, the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, Frizeland, and the Western and Eastern Ems: and the population of the whole did not exceed 1,800,000 souls. When Lewis abdicated his throne, he left a regular army and navy, amounting to 18,000 men, who were immediately taken into the service of France; and, in the course of three years and a half, their numbers were increased to 49,920, by the operation of the French naval and military code, in the following manner:

The Maritime Inscriptions produced - -	2000
The Numbers taken for National Guards -	4000
——— the Cohorts - -	3000
——— Guards of the Departments and Garde Soldée - -	2000
——— Guards of the Coast - - - - - - - -	2500
Three ordinary Conscriptions produced - -	9000
Three extraordinary Conscriptions taken in Arrear, from the Years of Lewis's Reign, produced - - - - - -	9000
And the Numbers taken for the Emperor's Guard of Honour amounted to - -	420

Thus about a thirty-sixth part of the whole population was employed in arms. The forces included in the maritime conscription were entirely employed in the navy. The national guards were always in service, and were generally used to guard the naval establishments, and to perform garrison duty: they were composed of those persons who, by age, or from being married, were exempted from the conscription. The cohorts were by law only liable to serve in the interior (as it was called) of the French empire, which extended from Hamburgh to Rome; but, after the Russian campaign, even this limitation was disregarded, and the French and Dutch cohorts formed a principal part of Napoleon's army at the battle of Bautzen.

The law respecting the ordinary conscription proceeded upon this principle, that every male of a proper age was absolutely at the disposal of the state. The age

fixed upon was a little under or above twenty years, limited in such a manner, that every youth, who had entered his twentieth year at any time in the calendar year preceding that in which the conscription was made, was liable to be drawn. The government having decided how many should be required for present service, the number was divided in just proportions among the different departments, circles, and communes or parishes of the empire. On an appointed day in the spring of every year, all those, who were liable to that year's conscription, were required to appear before the proper officers in their respective parishes. Those who were by law exempted from military service, under circumstances which shall be afterwards mentioned, were placed at the depôt, and not less considered at the disposition of government, in cases of emergency. The remainder proceeded to ballot, and the contingent was taken from those who drew

the lowest numbers. The surplus was called the reserve, and the individuals composing it escaped for the present, but were still liable to be called upon—and they were not permitted to go out of the department without an express permission from the government of the department. It has been calculated, that, on an average, nearly one half of the male population, of the age of twenty years, was annually taken off by the conscription:—it is, however, an undoubted fact, that, in France, the whole of the conscription drawn in the year 1808, including the reserve, was, sooner or later, obliged to join the army. But it is necessary to observe, that in so far as regarded Holland, the strictest justice and impartiality were observed in the ballot, and other details, of this oppressive proceeding—the cruelty of which required no aggravation. Instances, indeed, are given where persons, pretending to be afflicted with diseases, have,

by means of great influence, procured attestations of unfitness for service—when, in fact, no real disability existed; but such instances appear to have been rare. The success of the transaction was extremely doubtful, and those who participated in it were exposed to the severest punishments on detection. Escape by flight, also, was almost altogether impeded; for, if a young man quitted his country, to avoid the conscription, his nearest relation or guardian was condemned to heavy fines, the quartering of soldiers, and sometimes to imprisonment.

The persons exempted from the conscription in Holland, may be classed as follows:—1. All those who, on a public examination, were declared unfit for service, on account of mental or bodily infirmity. 2. All married men, whose marriage ceremony had been celebrated before the publication of that year's conscription. 3. All eldest sons of widows, who were the

support of indigent families. 4. The alternate brothers of conscripts, in this manner: if the eldest was serving, the second was excused; in like manner, if the third was serving, the fourth was excused, and so on. 5. In families of not less than three orphan children, the eldest was excused, if the others were indigent and dependent upon him for support. 6. All young men destined for holy orders were excused, if they could prove, by certificates from the professors, that they had studied theology for two years in an university: if, however, they were not ordained at the appointed time, they became liable to the conscription. 7. All those who procured substitutes (substitués) or deputies (remplaçants). A substitute was one, who, having drawn a high number in the ballot, and, on that account, belonged to the reserve, was induced to take the place of one who had drawn a low number, and was called into immediate service. A remplaçant, who, for want of

a better term, is here called a deputy, was one who, being entirely exempted from the conscription, agreed, nevertheless, to serve in the place of a conscript. The exemptions thus procured were not secure or complete. Those who had obtained substitutes still belonged to the reserve: and if a deputy deserted within two years after his arrival at the depôt, his principal was obliged to replace him, either by serving in person, or by procuring another deputy; whom he was to convey and guard, at his own expense, to the depôt to which the deserter belonged. Moreover, the principal was still liable to be called upon to serve in the Burgher guard, and to be chosen a member of the Emperor's guard of honour, which the French government avowedly composed as much as possible of those who had provided deputies for their service under the conscription. The most fortunate event which could occur for the principal was, that his deputy should be killed,

or proved to be taken prisoner; since, by that means, he escaped all military service and future liability, except as a member of the guard of honour.

The price of a deputy was subject to variations, arising partly from the different nature of the service to which the French troops were likely to be exposed, and partly from the number of conscripts required for the year. Sometimes it has amounted to so much as £800 sterling; but the ordinary price in Holland may be averaged at 3000 florins, or about £300 sterling. The expense, however, did not occasion the only difficulty in providing deputies. Each deputy was to belong to the same department as his principal, and he was not accepted if his age exceeded thirty-two years, or if the slightest personal defect could be discovered by an exact and minute examination, which was instituted for that purpose. As the same minuteness of inspection did not extend to those who

served in person, the consequence was, that the deputies were the finest and most healthy men in the service; and in Holland they were, till near the close of the French dominion, always given to the navy.

The conscripts were told, that their service was not to extend beyond the term of five years; but as, in France, no one ever saw an instance of a soldier's being discharged, without having been declared unfit for service, it might reasonably be expected in Holland, that the service of a conscript would terminate only with his life. And, to conclude this subject, it must be observed, that the regulations respecting the conscription were annually changed; by which means the code became intricate and confused. The explanation of any doubt rested with the persons intrusted with the execution of the law, the rigour of which was not mitigated by the construction they adopted.

But the conscription, however oppres-

sive, was general in its operation. The Emperor's guard of honour was formed in a manner entirely different, and, in many respects, more galling. The members were arbitrarily taken from among the most noble and opulent families, especially those who were deemed inimical to the French government; and, generally, the individuals who had already provided deputies for the ordinary conscription, were chosen. But the selection depended altogether on the Prefect, who named the persons most obnoxious to him, without regard to their rank or occupation, or even to their health. No exemption or excuse was allowed to any one; not even to those, who, by reason of mental or bodily infirmity, or other cause, had been declared unfit for military duty. The victims were required to volunteer their services, provide themselves with horses, arms, accoutrements, and march to the place appointed for their reception; where they were, probably, considered as

hostages for the fidelity of their relations. And here it may be proper to observe, that many of those persons who stood foremost in promoting the late Revolution, not only hazarded their lives and fortunes, but had also to tremble for the fate of their nearest kindred, who were already in the power of one, from whose clemency nothing could be hoped, and whose vengeance would only be increased by the success of the enterprize in which they were engaged. When the eldest son of M. Van Hogendorp was called upon to volunteer his service in the guard of honour, he had the firmness to refuse: in consequence of which, he was taken from his father's house by an armed force, and conducted to the fortress of Metz, where he was detained a prisoner. On taking leave of his family, he earnestly intreated, that if an opportunity presented itself, no fear for his personal safety might restrain his father from serving his country.

It would be tedious, and, perhaps, use-

less, to enter into a minute detail of the taxes imposed upon Holland by the French government. The most oppressive were those levied on lands and houses; of which the former usually amounted to 25, and the latter to 30 per cent. of the clear annual rent. Other direct taxes, not so burdensome, were levied on persons and moveable property, on doors and windows, and on patents granted for the exercise of trades and professions; and then followed the long list of stamps, and all the various impositions on bridges, passage-boats, and carriage; on spirits, wine, beer, tobacco, and salt; on legacies, and all sales of property, either real or personal, &c. There was some inequality in the operation of the taxes on land and houses, owing to the amount being fixed for each department, and then divided among the circles and parishes of which it was composed; for if the original rate of taxation, which was 20 per cent. of the rent, did not produce

the contingent of each parish, the deficiency was supplied by increasing the proportion to be paid by each individual. Thus the rate of the land-tax increased in proportion as the rents fell; and as many persons destroyed their houses, to avoid paying the taxes levied on them, the weight was thrown with additional severity upon the others. The personal tax was at first levied equally upon every individual inhabiting the same parish; it consisted of the price of three days' labour, which was fixed by the Prefect, at a rate varying in the different parishes, from half a franc to a franc and a half for each day: and, if this assessment did not produce the contingent of the parish, the residue was levied on the personal property of those who had been assessed in proportion to the value. The taxes on doors and windows, on the patents for trades and professions, on the manufacture of tobacco, and some other duties, were regulated by tariffs, increasing the amount to be paid in

proportion to the population of the parishes in which the taxes were raised. The whole sum annually obtained from Holland, by these means, amounted to about 30 millions of florins, being at the rate of about £1. 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, from every soul inhabiting the country.

It now remains to make some observations on the operation of what has been called the continental system; the main object of which was to destroy the resources, and ruin the prosperity, of Great Britain, by excluding her from all commercial intercourse with the continent. But England was mistress of the seas, and could not be placed in a state of political excommunication, without compelling the nations of the continent to relinquish their external trade. The greatest military force that has ever appeared in modern Europe, under one chief, has been annihilated in the attempt, which is not likely to be ever renewed: but the misery which the expe-

riment inflicted upon Holland cannot be described, and can only be fully understood by those who have witnessed its lamentable results. In other countries, where great manufactories existed, the loss of maritime communication was perhaps compensated by the exclusion of England, whose competition was thus kept out of the home market. In states, possessed of large and fertile territories, the population, which could no longer be employed in commerce, might be occupied in the increased cultivation and improvement of land. But, in Holland, whose manufactures were inconsiderable, and whose territory was insufficient to support the inhabitants, the destruction of trade deprived a great portion of the people of their means of subsistence, and reduced even the higher classes to comparative poverty.

Formerly, the Dutch merchants were the great retail dealers of Europe. They imported colonial produce and English

manufactures, and distributed them to the Germans, and to other nations of the continent. The numerous and capacious ports of Holland enabled them to unload their vessels even at the doors of their warehouses, from whence a multitude of navigable canals conveyed their merchandizes to the interior, and to the different continental markets. A very considerable part of the whole population was employed in the various branches of this traffic; and when the communication with England and the colonies was cut off, principal and subordinate were involved in common ruin. The great number of merchant-seamen, of warehousemen, and porters, were at once deprived of their means of livelihood; and, although some of the younger classes were enabled to prolong their existence as conscripts or deputies, the remainder were left utterly destitute; and, while all classes became daily less able to purchase, the tradesmen, whose profits ought to have

been derived from selling, became continually more oppressed by the increasing weight of the taxes.

In France, the effect of the continental system was somewhat alleviated by the licence trade, and the exportation of the various productions of an extensive and fertile country, which were forced upon the rest of continental Europe, as well as by the encouragement which was afforded to her manufactures; but all alleviations were denied to Holland. The few licences which were granted to the Dutch, were attended by duties so exorbitant, as to make them useless. Thus, when the Java entered the Maese, 2*s*. were levied upon every pound weight of the coffee and sugar she brought; and the duties upon this ship alone amounted to about £50,000 sterling. At the same time, every measure that avidity could suggest, was pursued, to crush the remnant of Dutch commerce, and sacrifice Holland to France. The Dutch troops were all

clothed and armed from French manufactures and arsenals. The frontiers were laid open to French commodities, which were introduced, without duty, and the Dutch manufacturer was undersold in his own market.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate the extent of the evils thus inflicted upon Holland; but the following circumstances may afford some idea of the sweeping calamity. The population of Amsterdam was reduced from 220,000 souls to 190,000, of which a fourth part derived their whole subsistence from charitable institutions, whilst another fourth part received partial succour from the same sources. At Haerlem, where the population had been chiefly employed in bleaching linen, made in Brabant, and preparing it for sale, whole streets were levelled with the ground, and more than five hundred houses destroyed. At the Hague, at Delft, and in other towns, many inhabitants had

been induced to pull down their houses, by their inability to pay the taxes, or keep their habitations in repair. Ruin was every where imminent. The preservation of the dikes requiring annually an expense, now estimated at £600,000 sterling, was greatly neglected. The sea inundated the Polders, and threatened to resume its antient dominion over a great part of the country. Meanwhile, all classes of the people were crushed under a load of suffering—a great part of the population was reduced to beggary, and all were suddenly deprived of those articles of colonial produce which had almost become necessaries. Even the most opulent families only escaped complete poverty, by diminishing their establishments, and adopting the most rigid economy: and there remained no source of wealth or distinction, no object of ambition to which a Dutchman could aspire. Commerce was extinguished—no one could voluntarily enter the army or

navy, to fight for the worst enemy of his country. The clergy were not provided with a decent subsistence—and the antient laws of the country had given way to the Code Napoleon; so that old practitioners had to begin their studies anew, and young men were discouraged from applying themselves to the drudgery of learning a system which was very unpopular, and perhaps unfit, for a commercial country. And, independently of all this, it must be remembered, that in Holland trade was a passion, as well as a means, of acquiring wealth; the Dutch felt deeply the loss of their national pursuit, and the aggravation of their calamity was crowned by their being compelled to sacrifice themselves in a cause they abhorred, and in the service of a power which had robbed them of their independence, and reduced them from freedom to slavery, from prosperity to misery, and from a high pitch of national glory to the lowest state of national degradation.

It is the curse of tyranny, that it inevitably pursues the straight road to its own destruction; and, in Holland, the grievous oppression of France inspired every heart with an earnest desire to throw off the yoke. In the extent of present suffering, all parties had undergone a salutary change. The remembrance of former evils and discontents had faded away, while the blessings which had once been enjoyed under the mild government of the House of Orange, were borne in mind, with regret for the past, and hope for the future. A great portion of the nation, and all the lower classes, had retained an undiminished and faithful attachment to this illustrious family, whose ancestors had fought so nobly for their independence, and whose name is inseparably united with almost every memorial of their prosperity and glory. And two years before the late Revolution, a member of the French government justly described the state of public opinion in

Holland, by saying, that one part of the nation ardently prayed for the return of the Prince of Orange and the re-establishment of the connexion with England; and that the other part would gladly submit to such a change.

The various governments which had been established in Holland had indeed obtained the willing services, not only of some of those Patriots who had so imprudently welcomed the first approach of the French, but also of some considerable persons of the Orange party, who had not blushed to desert their cause. But the Patriots, as a powerful party, had long since been taught, that no hope of freedom or prosperity could be reposed in France; they were very soon united in desiring an opportunity of resistance; and becoming at length convinced that the restoration of the Prince of Orange could alone afford relief to their harassed country, they held themselves ready to give their sincere and

active assistance in promoting his return. And the Orangemen, in general, had not only maintained their fidelity, but some of their principal men had contrived to keep up a clandestine correspondence with His Most Serene Highness. Under these circumstances, the leaders of the different parties became continually more closely united. The Orangemen became desirous of a free constitution, and the Patriots were willing to see the Prince of Orange at the head of it.

The people, however, only bestowed their confidence upon the old and tried friends of the House of Orange. Some of them had, at the express desire of His Most Serene Highness, communicated to them at the peace of Amiens, accepted a share in the Batavian Republic, with the view of alleviating the calamities of their country, and paving the way for the return of the exiled family: others again had been compelled to continue in office

by Napoleon, who perhaps hoped to derive some advantage from the employment and co-operation of those who exclusively possessed the confidence of the Dutch nation. It was on these persons, who were well known, and still more on others of the same party, who had steadily refused to accept any share in the government after Holland was united to France, that the people placed their reliance. The Patriots, though converted from their former opinions, were treated with suspicion and distrust by those who had no means of being acquainted with their sincerity. But, in fact, all important differences of opinion had been obliterated; the wishes of the Patriots corresponded with those of the people, and at the end of the year 1813, it may safely be affirmed, that the Dutch nation was unanimous in the desire of expelling their oppressors and recalling the Prince of Orange. When the crisis arrived, the prejudice of the people made it

necessary to intrust the management of the Revolution to the Orange party alone; but much assistance was willingly afforded, not only by the members of the old Patriot party, but also by many persons who had voluntarily entered into the service of Napoleon, and had obtained the confidence of the French government. Some individuals, in the highest departments of the finances, sacrificed their security bonds, and declared for the Prince of Orange. The French authorities very soon discovered that they were betrayed on every side, and that most of the natives of Holland, in the service of Napoleon, however contrary it might seem to their interest, were his secret or avowed enemies. All confidence was destroyed, and, after the first explosion of popular feeling, terror and vacillation marked the conduct of the persons against whom it was directed.

The general hostility to the French government, and the reconciliation of the

adverse parties, were the main causes of the rapid success of the Revolution. The victories of the allies afforded to the Dutch an opportunity of throwing off the yoke of France, which alone and unaided they could never have effected; and the warm attachment of the people to the House of Orange always directed their hopes to that quarter. But their wishes could hardly have been realized without the cordial union of the leading persons in the state; and that union must be chiefly ascribed to the oppression and tyranny of France.

A

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

THE disasters experienced by the French army in the Russian campaign, and the publicity which was given to them by the famous 29th Bulletin, having inspired hopes that the enfranchisement of Holland might, at some future period, be effected —some of the chiefs of the Orange party at the Hague; namely, M. M. van Hogendorp, Van der Duyn van Maasdam, Count Styrum Repelaer d'Jonge, and Changuion, met frequently in secret towards the end of the year 1812, in order to consult upon and adopt measures, which might enable them to seize the first favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke of

France, and restoring the Prince of Orange. But these gentlemen, being fully convinced of the external weakness, and internal defects, of the government as it existed under the Stadtholder, determined to endeavour to remedy abuses of which they were all conscious, and to prepare a plan of a constitution, which, while it secured the liberties of the people, should render the executive branch of the government sufficiently strong, to protect the national independence of Holland from the attacks of foreign enemies. Accordingly, the outlines of that constitution, which has since been ratified at Amsterdam, were drawn up in these meetings.

But, as the moment did not then seem ripe for action, they determined, in order to avoid observation and detection, to remain quiet, until affairs should have taken a more decided turn.

The above-named individuals, who formed themselves into this little confede-

racy, found, however, means of communicating with several respectable persons in different towns of Holland, whom they knew to be well disposed to the cause of the Prince of Orange, and who promised their assistance as soon as they were informed of the object which the confederates had in view. Of this number were M. van der Hoop, of Amsterdam; M. F. van Hogendorp, of Rotterdam; and Baron Bentinck, of Zwolle: this last gentleman had been for some time in correspondence with the Prince of Orange, and was arrested by the French government, in consequence of the interception of a letter from His Most Serene Highness;—he was, however, set at liberty, after a short imprisonment, though the motives which caused his release are unknown.

The confederates were well aware, that, while France continued mistress of Europe, any insolated attempt at insurrection on the part of the Dutch nation would be hopeless; but, as there now seemed to be

a prospect, that the limits of this dominion might be contracted by the Allies, they were determined to do their utmost, in the meanwhile, to prepare for the assertion of their independence—acting, in the whole affair, upon the conviction that their efforts, as soon as they should declare themselves, would be aided by the British government and by the combined armies! Holland remained in a state of tranquillity during the spring and summer of the year 1813; and the French government seems to have been deceived by this appearance, —for troops were every where marched off to join the army with which Napoleon was about to attack the Russian and Prussian forces; and no serious apprehensions were entertained respecting the conduct of the people of Holland, until after the battle of Leipzig. It was, however, the power, and not the will, which was doubted; for the French government was fully aware that the dominion of France was odious to

the Dutch nation: but they do not appear to have foreseen the possibility of a serious insurrection, drained as the country was of native troops, of arms, of ammunition, and overawed by numerous fortresses:—indeed, they seem to have calculated justly, that the fate of Holland depended upon the success of that campaign; so far at least, that, if it had proved unfavourable to the Allies, the French dominion in Holland would have met with no serious opposition.

It is true, that, in the month of April, some partial disturbances ensued, in consequence of the enrolment of the national guards—a measure which was peculiarly obnoxious to the lower classes of the people, who, without any previous concert with the confederates, rose upon their oppressors at Alphen, the Hague, Rotterdam, Oud-Beyerland, and Zandam—destroyed the parish registers necessary for the enrolment—took the town of Leyden, and

hoisted there the Orange flag, amid incessant cries of "*Oranje Boven!*" The confederates endeavoured in vain to calm the populace, who, in the Hague and in some other towns, fought desperately with the French military force in the streets;—but, as they had few fire arms, and were without a leader, this revolt was soon suppressed, though not without the loss of several lives on both sides: some of the most active of the insurgents were executed, —and the principal inhabitants of the Hague, having subscribed to procure substitutes, the measure, with this unusual modification, was carried into effect without further opposition.

From the suppression of this tumult to the month of October following, Holland remained quiet, and nothing worthy of notice occurred in the interval: when, however, intelligence of the battle of Leipzig, and its result, began to transpire, the confederates at the Hague judged that the

time was come to secure the services of a respectable band of men; and, in order to effect this object, without committing the safety of the whole to the discretion of a numerous body, the following plan was adopted:—Each of the confederates selected, from among his friends, four individuals, who, without any mutual concert or knowledge of each other, engaged to be ready whenever called upon by the selector, and implicitly to obey his commands: every one of those, whose co-operation was thus secured, was then directed to make sure of four others—each of whom, in like manner, was to engage to be ready, at a moment's warning, with whatever arms he could procure; yet none of these persons were made acquainted with the plot, except as to its final object; nor informed of any name, except that of his immediate selector. To avoid detection, nothing was committed to paper; no written engagement was entered into;

—but the individuals thus chosen received verbal instructions, in case of any tumult, to repair immediately to the spot, mingle with the crowd, and there await the orders of their chief. Thus the confederates formed a band of near 400 respectable adherents, mostly selected from among the burghers of the town. This class possessed, in a high degree, the confidence of the people at large, and was well disposed to the cause of the Prince of Orange: if, however, contrary to all probability, any of the persons so chosen had been induced, either by corruption or intimidation, to reveal to the French police his knowledge of the plot, he could have betrayed only one name upwards in the scale,—namely, that of his immediate selector, whose individual safety thus depended upon the propriety of the choice of his instruments.

Besides the above-mentioned band, Count Styrum succeeded in securing the services of Pronck, an inhabitant of Schœ-

veningen, a village on the coast, about a mile from the Hague. This man possessed great influence among the sailors and fishermen in the neighbourhood; and engaged to furnish, at the shortest notice, fifty men, who should implicitly obey the orders of the confederates. No measures were taken (for none were necessary) to influence the people: it was perfectly clear that their good will and co-operation might be depended upon the moment leaders were presented to them, in whom they could confide; so that this enterprize was free from the dilemma which attends most conspiracies, and has proved the ruin of so many,—namely, the necessity of gaining over the multitude, and the difficulty of accomplishing this without risking a premature discovery of the plot.

Count Styrum, whose zeal, courage, and activity were remarkable, was entrusted with all the military details, which consisted in preparing such arms and am-

munition as could be collected, without exciting suspicion,—and obtaining authentic accounts of the state of the French military force, and of the dispositions of the foreigners in the service of France. He succeeded in gaining over the whole of the national guard, consisting of 300 men; whose commander, Colonel Tulling, warmly embraced the cause of the Prince of Orange, and yet conducted himself with so much circumspection, as to retain to the last the confidence of the Prefect. The Count also sounded a detachment of the 2d regiment of foreign chasseurs, quartered at the Hague; but this corps, although chiefly composed of Prussians, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Jena, could not be induced to enter into any engagements with the confederates: all that could be obtained from them was a confession of their dislike of the cause in which they were engaged, and an avowal of their intention of deserting, should the

French be compelled to quit the country; but, in the meanwhile, they declared their determination to assist, if required, in quelling any insurrection that might take place.

Such frequent drafts of French troops had been made by this time from Holland, that the whole military force in the country did not exceed 10,000 men. The extraordinary success and advance of the allies could no longer be concealed. Meanwhile, all the natives of France, employed in the civil service, who could find any pretext for their departure, quitted the country with their families, endeavouring to sell or carry off their valuables: this, added to the increasing and ill-dissembled terror of those who were obliged to remain, and the exaggerated reports which were every day circulated of the disasters of the French army, excited great fermentation among the populace.

About this time the publication of a

forged Moniteur, announcing that Buonaparte had been arrested by the Empress, augmented the general confusion, and even deceived the members of the French government in Holland. Fortunately, the confederates determined to await the confirmation of this event before they declared themselves: the next day brought the contradiction of this intelligence, but the authors of the fraud were never discovered. The advance of the combined armies was, however, a more substantial fact, and one that it was in vain to endeavour to conceal: parties of Cossacks had already entered the north of Holland, and were scouring the country beyond the Yssel.

Affairs were in this state; when, on the 13th of November, towards the evening, the turf carriers, (who are, at the Hague, a formidable body) governed by chiefs of their own election, assembled in considerable numbers at the Town House,—and,

together with others of the populace, demanded, in a very tumultuous manner, that Mr. Slicher, who had formerly been burgomaster, should resume his functions: this gentlemen deserved and possessed the confidence of the people,—and, though not one of the confederates, was a faithful adherent of the Prince of Orange.

Count Styrum and M. Repelaer immediately repaired to the spot; and, as they thought that the favourable moment was not yet arrived, and that a premature explosion would ruin the cause, they easily succeeded in dispersing the mob by means of their adherents, who, according to their general instructions, had mixed with the crowd upon the first appearance of a tumult: a few moments after this the Prefect arrived, accompanied by a military force, and was surprised to find no vestige of a disturbance. The dispersion of this mob was the first essay which the confederates made of

their power, and the success surpassed their expectations.

The French authorities, perceiving that the people were ripe for revolt, and that it would very soon be impossible to retain any controul over them,—conceived that the only method, to prevent an explosion in favour of the Prince of Orange, would be to give a certain degree of power to those of the inhabitants, who possessed the confidence of the people; and who, under the pretext of preserving public tranquillity, and preventing anarchy, should be formed into a provisional government—of which as many as possible of the adherents of the French should also be members. Thus it was hoped, that the influence which the chiefs of the Orange party possessed over the people, might be employed to prevent an open rebellion against France; and, by preserving a communication with the French authorities, and acting in a manner in concert with them,

keep open a channel, by which they might resume their authority, should military events arrest the advance of the Allies:—on the other hand, if the Orange party should prevail, it would be a material advantage to the French to have many of their partizans in the revolutionary government; who might, by artifice and discussions, embarrass their operations, and, by professing themselves the advocates of moderate measures, prevent an open rupture with France. It seems to have been the uniform policy of the French in Holland, when they could no longer retain their authority, to prevent the adherents of the House of Orange from forming into a distinct and separate party,—convinced that their strength would be very much diminished by their being mingled with those few of the natives, who still retained a predilection for France.

In conformity with this plan, a pro-

position was made, by desire of the Prefect, to the principal inhabitants of the Hague, to form themselves into a committee, to preserve order, and prevent the commission of popular excesses. Fortunately, the confederates did not fall into the snare; for, when they, in common with others, were solicited to become members of this committee—after some deliberation, and chiefly at the persuasion of Count Styrum, they declined having any share in it: they conceived that an union with persons of the French party would be a very impolitic measure; for, by such a coalition, the confederates, without obtaining any additional force, would injure themselves in the minds of the people, whose confidence formed their chief strength—a confidence, which they had acquired by their steadfast attachment to the cause of the Prince of Orange, at the expense of their fortunes, and some even by the

sacrifice of their liberty, and at the imminent hazard of their lives.*

The refusal of the confederates to join in this measure was, however, attended with one bad consequence: it betrayed their intention to the French government, who, having an accurate knowledge of their antipathy to France, concluded that they would have seized this opportunity of obtaining a share in the management of affairs, if they had not had some deeper design in contemplation. It is certain, that the views of the confederacy were, by this refusal, and by other corroborating circumstances, laid open to the Prefect, and that he obtained information of the names of the chiefs and of their object: it was even debated, in consequence, on the following day, whether or not they should be ar-

* M. Repelaer was confined six years in prison, and threatened with execution, for having carried on a correspondence with the Prince of Orange.

rested;—but the fear of a popular insurrection, and the want of a sufficient military force to overawe the multitude, prevented the French government from adopting any measures of this nature.

On the same day on which the tumult which has been mentioned took place at the Hague, (the 13th of Nov.)—the gensdarmes having quitted Rotterdam, Orange ribands were exposed there for sale in several shops; but the police immediately seized every article of that colour. An actor appeared at the theatre with a pink riband in his hat, and the audience having applauded him, mistaking it for Orange, the man was seized that night in his bed, and carried a prisoner to Breda—though he clearly proved that the same riband had been always worn by him in that particular character.

On the 14th day of November a plan was formed, by Count Styrum, for attack-

ing the barracks in the night, and seizing the person of the Prefect, by means of the national guards; but, upon further investigation, it was discovered, that precautions had been taken by the French government, which rendered the success of such an enterprize extremely doubtful, and it was therefore abandoned. Meanwhile, the dispositions of the people, in other parts of the country, appeared equally tumultuous, and the apprehensions of the French equally great; every reverse experienced by the arms of France was augmented by the fears of one party, and the most trifling successes of the Allies were exaggerated into signal victories by the confidence of the other;—it was evident that an explosion was near at hand, and the people seemed only waiting for a signal.

The middle and lower orders were, throughout the whole of Holland, impatient to throw off the yoke of France, and

declare for the Prince of Orange. Those who had much to lose, though equally well disposed, were, in some places, more circumspect,—and this was particularly the case at Amsterdam. The powerful and wealthy inhabitants of that city dreaded the results of a popular commotion: the excesses which had been committed there in the Revolution of 1787, when the populace of each party pillaged in different quarters of the town, were still fresh in their memory:—they expected very soon to be delivered from the French, by the advance of the allies; and they conceived that, in the meanwhile, a premature declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange would uselessly expose them, in case of a reverse, to the vengeance of the French;—whereas, the invasion of a foreign army would afford a plausible pretext for submission.

There were, however, many persons among the principal inhabitants who were

averse to such temporizing policy. The populace were anxious to declare at once for the Prince of Orange; and the national guards, a body of 1500 men, were to a man ready to co-operate in any measures, which might tend to free them from the government of Napoleon. This corps, which was commanded by Colonel Van Brienen, had been previously gained over by one of its officers, Captain Falck, who was in communication with the confederates at the Hague. This gentleman was the chief instigator of the events which ensued. The principal obstacles opposed to him were the French government and the Dutch corporation: the latter, though in the main well disposed, were restrained by the fear of letting the people loose, and overawed by the vicinity of an army, under General Molitor, at Utrecht. In these circumstances, Captain Falck conceived that the only

way of accomplishing his object was to intimidate the French authorities, and induce them to abandon their posts through fear of popular vengeance: and, at the same time, to persuade the corporation to accede to the wishes of the people, and form a provisional government, in order to avoid pillage and other excesses. When this step was once taken, he judged that it would be no difficult matter to bring about a declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange. In this conclusion he was, as will subsequently be found, mistaken: however, it was necessary, for the accomplishment of his plan, to excite the people to some overt act of opposition to the French. This was no difficult task. Accordingly, on the 15th of November, the populace being already in a state of great fermentation, a mob was collected, which immediately proceeded to burn the wooden huts, in which the douaniers, or excise men, levied the duties; and to pillage

the house of a receiver of the customs, because he refused to take down the Napoleon arms. This tumult, which had the appearance of being purely accidental, succeeded in both its primary objects: it terrified the French authorities, who, on the next day, quitted the town; and the corporation having applied to the national guard to disperse the mob, this body, on being assured that a provisional government would next day be formed, proceeded to quell the tumult: to effect which purpose they were, however, obliged to fire on the people. Some few Orange cockades appeared on this occasion, and now and then a cry of "Oranje Boven" was heard; but these demonstrations were by no means general. This commotion must, however, be considered as the signal of the Revolution; and to the populace of Amsterdam, exclusively, belongs the honour of being the first to raise the standard of revolt against the

government of Napoleon:—but, at the same time it must be remembered, that no principals had hitherto committed themselves; on the contrary, the national guard had quelled the tumult, which was still of a nature to be considered and represented only as an accidental popular commotion.

Capt. Falck, the next day, made use of this riot as an argument to persuade the corporation, and principal inhabitants of Amsterdam, to declare for the Prince of Orange, —urging, that nothing short of this would content the people. His efforts were without success: all he could obtain was permission to publish a proclamation, from which the following is an extract:—

" The events which took place last night,
" having proved the necessity of the im-
" mediate nomination of an administration
" in this city, which, by its spirit and
" composition, may merit the confidence
" of all good citizens,—the officers of the
" national guard have agreed to take upon

" themselves the formation of such an
" administration; and many of the most
" respectable inhabitants have been sum-
" moned to undertake, in this critical
" moment, the important task of adopting
" such measures as may guard against the
" incalculable evils attendant upon a state
" of anarchy and confusion." To this proclamation Colonel Van Brienen subjoined a notification in the following words:—" The Colonel of the national
" guard, who has the satisfaction of
" announcing these measures to the pub-
" lic, cannot omit this opportunity of
" exhorting his fellow-citizens to conduct
" themselves with prudence and modera-
" tion: at the same time, he hopes that
" the joy occasioned by these events will
" not excite the inhabitants to the commis-
" sion of any outrages against any persons
" whatsoever; and that no building, whe-
" ther public or private property, will be
" pillaged,—as the officers, and every

" member of the national guard, are firm-
" ly resolved to prevent every act of irre-
" gularity, and to punish the authors of
" every excess that shall be committed.

" (Signed) The Colonel and Chief of the National Guard, VAN BRIENEN.

" *Amsterdam*, 16*th Nov.* 1813."

By this proclamation, twenty-four persons were called upon by name to assume the administration of affairs: of this number, four were absent,—and four declined committing themselves, and were consequently excused. Mr. Van der Hoop, who has been already stated to be in correspondence with the confederates, was named president of this committee. It must be observed, that here was no mention whatever of the Prince of Orange: this was little more than the sort of provisional government that the Prefect had endeavoured to form at the Hague, and of which the confederates there had refused to become members. However, M. Lebrun,

Prince of Plaisance—M. de Celles, the Prefect of Amsterdam—and M. du Villier du Terrage, the Commissary-general of the police, finding, from the temper of the people, that their persons were no longer in safety, quitted the city on the day on which the above proclamation was published.

The confederates at the Hague received, on the evening of the 16th, intelligence of the insurrection at Amsterdam, and of the occurrences which had ensued there. They also learned, in the morning of the 17th, by means of Colonel Tulling, who had passed the night at the house of the Prefect, M. de Stassart, that he intended to depart in the course of the day; and that he was, in the meanwhile, endeavouring to form a provisional government. All these circumstances united, persuaded them that the moment was at length arrived to put their design into execution, and that it was of the greatest consequence to prevent any provisional

government, under the influence of France, from gaining consistency. It was moreover considered, that, if the events which had taken place in the capital were allowed to pass by, without any corresponding demonstrations in the other parts of the country, the most lamentable results might ensue for that city, and for the cause. In addition to this it was urged, that a general insurrection in Holland would no doubt occasion the immediate advance of the allies, who would lose no time in profiting by so favourable an occurrence; and that, at all events, they might be perfectly confident of receiving, as promptly as possible, whatever assistance England could afford. These considerations prevailed; and, accordingly, Count Styrum, whose impatience it was difficult to restrain, having placed an Orange cockade in his hat, proceeded alone, about nine in the morning of the 17th, from the house of M. Van Hogendorp (which was formerly the habitation

of the de Witts) to that of M. Slicher, and summoned him to assemble those persons who had been members of the corporation of the Hague in the year 1795, and take upon himself the office of burgomaster, in the name of His Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange. M. Slicher was very much astonished at the request, and excused himself for the moment, stating that he had just been called upon to attend a conference with the Deputy-Mayor, who was endeavouring to form a provisional government. While this was passing, the sons of M. Van Hogendorp, and other friends and adherents of the confederates, were displaying their Orange cockades in every quarter of the town: the people instantly obeyed the signal, and shouts of "Oranje Boven" resounded from all parts. On Count Styrum's return to the house of M. Van Hogendorp, he found the confederates assembled there. An instrument, of which the following is

a translation from the original manuscript; was immediately drawn up, and signed by them.

Assembly of the Members of the Old Government.

The Hague, 17th Nov. 1813.

Convinced that the tumult and anarchy which is at hand might terminate in the ruin of the town, we consider ourselves bound to take proper measures to prevent such an event. In consequence, we name and appoint by these presents—Leopold, Count de Limburg Styrum, Governor of the Hague, in the name of His Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange; and we further authorize him to superintend the police, and provide for the public safety, —in order that we may be enabled, in a legal and constitutional manner, to call a meeting of all the members of the Old

Government, in the town and neighbourhood—and that we may, in concert with them, take the best measures for the security of the state, and the good of our country.

(Signed.) F. Van der Duyn Van Maasdam.
Gylbert Karel Van Hogendorp.
I. F. Van Hogendorp.
O. Repelaer Van Driel.
F. D. Changuion.

Another instrument was immediately drawn up, and signed by the same persons, calling a meeting of the ancient Regents—that is to say, those persons who had been members of the states of the different provinces of Holland, in the years 1794 and 1795:—this meeting was appointed to take place the next day.

In the mean time, Count Styrum procured an open declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange from the national guard; and M. Slicher, finding that the proposition of the Deputy-Mayor tended

only to the establishment of such a committee as has been before stated to be in contemplation, refused his concurrence,—and, being joined by M. M. T'Hoen and Backman, who had also held the office of burgomaster in the year 1795, he proceeded to the town hall, and resumed his functions. On being apprized of this step, Count Styrum immediately went there, and communicated to them the commission appointing him Governor. They acknowledged him in that capacity; and, having also approved a proclamation which he had prepared, he assembled a detachment of the national guard, who went in procession, with the band playing the Orange March—colours flying—and drums beating. The proclamation was read to the people, and posted up in the most conspicuous places, with the arms of the Prince of Orange affixed to it. A translation of it will be here given, as it is of some importance, on account of its being the first document which was

published in Holland, in the name of the Prince of Orange.

" In the name of His Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, Leopold, Count of Leinburg Styrum, Governor of the Hague.

" As the happy restoration is rapidly advancing, I give notice to all the inhabitants of this town, that their wishes, will speedily be gratified by the appointment of a provisional government, which will assume the direction of affairs, until the arrival of His Most Serene Highness. In the meanwhile, I call upon all good citizens to assist in the preservation of order, and public tranquillity.

" I promise the people a day of rejoicing at the expense of the town; but I signify to every one, that all attempts at robbery and pillage, will meet with the most severe punishment."

This proclamation was received by the people, with every possible demonstra-

tion of joy; an Orange flag, which had previously been prepared by Count Styrum, was hoisted on the Tower of the Hague, and colours were hung out, in sign of rejoicing, from almost every window in the town.

M. de Stassart, the Prefect, who had been supposed to have quitted the Hague at an early hour in the morning; but who was still there in concealment, now departed, having taken every precaution to avoid observation and detection.

At the moment, when the confederates declared themselves so nobly, and proclaimed the Prince of Orange with so much solemnity, their whole force consisted of

300 National guards, badly armed,
50 Citizens armed with fowling pieces,
50 Half-pay officers,
50 Veteran soldiers of the old Dutch guard,
400 Adherents of the confederates,
20 Young men on horseback, and a few volunteers armed with pikes.

The country having been for three years and a half annexed to France, had been robbed of all its resources. The necessities as well as the policy of the French government had entirely drained it of arms, ammunition, military stores, accoutrements, artillery, and horses. The cloth and other manufactories were not only destitute of manufactured articles, but even of the raw materials, and the best workmen had been driven to seek elsewhere for employment.

The confederates had besides no funds but their private fortunes. It was for some time afterwards impracticable to continue the levy of the existing taxes, as the persons employed in the collection of them, had absconded, and had destroyed, or taken away all the papers, registers, and necessary documents; and the balances of public money, which remained in hand, had been all carried off on the first alarm.

The Prince, in whose name the con-

federates had taken up arms, had been nineteen years in a state of exile; and it was not known, whether he was in England, or in Germany.

It was in such circumstances, and with such means, that half a dozen private gentlemen, aided by an unarmed populace, declared war against the Emperor of the French, whose troops were at this moment in possession of all the fortresses and strong places in the country, and had not even evacuated the open towns.

No tumult had hitherto occurred at Rotterdam; the intentions of Admiral Kickert, upon whom every thing depended there, were misinterpreted, and he was supposed to be decidedly hostile to the cause. There were besides 350 douaniers in that town completely armed.

Amsterdam had refused to declare itself for the Prince of Orange, and there was still a feeble French garrison of sixty men there, who were allowed to retain

possession of the townhouse. General Molitor had an army of 4,000 regular troops at Utrecht, only twelve leagues from the Hague, and there was a French garrison at Gorcum, commanded by General Rampon.

The confederates it is true confidently depended upon assistance, both from the British government, and from the combined armies; but the force of the allies in Holland consisted only of a few Cossacks, and the easterly winds which prevailed, would probably delay the arrival of troops from England, whose embarkation for foreign service must also necessarily consume several days.

The French force at the Hague consisted, at this time, of four hundred men of the second regiment of chasseurs etrangers, whom Count Styrum had vainly endeavoured to gain over; one hundred custom-house officers, all natives of France, and well armed; and two 8-pounders; under the

command of Gen. Bouvier des Eclats, who, on the first breaking out of the tumult, had retired with his force to the old palace, a building, in the centre of the town, from its position, capable of some defence, and which was the depôt of all the arms and ammunition at that time at the Hague. An officer, who had been dispatched to Baron Bentinck at Zwolle, for advice and information, returned at this moment. The Baron was in communication with the allies, and he informed the confederates, that their whole force in the north of Holland consisted of seven hundred Cossacks; he therefore recommended to them to be prudent in their measures, and not to declare themselves before assistance could be afforded them. It was also ascertained, beyond all doubt, that General Bulow had *instructions not to pass the Yssel*, and that it did not, at that time, form part of the military plans of the allies to advance into Holland, beyond the

line of that river. This communication was extremely discouraging to the confederates, for the whole foundation of their undertaking rested upon the conviction, that they would be supported by the immediate advance of the combined armies: for all they could hope to be able to effect with the feeble means at their disposal, was, to keep out the French till assistance from them should arrive. The blow was, however, struck, and it was impossible to recede. As the night approached, Count Styrum assembled all the force he could possibly collect, and placed strong guards in every avenue that led to the palace; the twenty horsemen were continually kept in motion, galloping to and fro in the neighbourhood of this building; the town was illuminated, and a great proportion of the inhabitants spent the whole night in the streets, some patroling, others dancing and singing popular songs; at every moment sentinels were heard challenging, amid in-

cessant shouts of joy, and cries of Oranje Boven and Vivat Oranje, from the multitude. This so much intimidated the French troops, who witnessed all that passed from the windows of the palace, that, at four o'clock in the morning, General Bouvier des Eclats sent to Count Styrum, to request a conference with him: the governor, in consequence, immediately proceeded to the palace, accompanied by the colonel of the national guards; and there it was agreed, that the next morning, the general, his garrison, and his cannon, should be allowed to retire, without molestation, upon Gorcum.

The evacuation accordingly took place at an early hour of the following day, (the 18th); the troops marched out of the palace, and were received by the governor, at the head of all the force he could muster, and were escorted as far as the village of Ryswick, by the twenty horsemen.

The town was now freed from the pre-

sence of the enemy. A number of volunteers presented themselves to offer their services, but the total want of arms and ammunition rendered it impossible to equip them; however, a quantity of pikes were manufactured in great haste, and distributed to the multitude as fast as they could be obtained.

Count Styrum then made a general review of all the troops, and thanked them for their services; and M. Slicher announced to the people, that a gratuitous distribution of bread would take place the following day.

Pronck, at Schæveningen, who has been stated to have offered his services to the confederates, lost no time in dispatching fishing-boats, with tidings of the events that had taken place, to the English fleet. These boats were ordered to proceed in different directions to those points where they were most likely to fall in with British cruizers.

The assembly of the ancient Regents, which had been convoked by the proclamation of the confederates, now took place at the house of M. Van Hogendorp.

These persons, who had been members of the provisional states, in the years 1794 and 1795, were, from this circumstance, considered as those who could, with most propriety, take upon themselves the government of the country till the arrival of the Prince of Orange: but when called upon at this meeting, to form themselves into a provisional council, they all declined having any share in the administration of affairs. They objected to the Confederates, that they were acting without any authority from the Prince of Orange, of whose place of residence they were even ignorant; that they were surrounded on every side by French troops, who still retained possession of every fortress in the country; that the enemy, though they had, in a moment of sudden panic, been expelled from a few open

towns, would not fail, when they discovered the weakness of the Confederates, to return, with reinforcements from Utrecht and Gorcum, and, by their vengeance, complete the ruin of the country.

To this the Confederates replied, that though they had no specific instructions as to this present occasion, they had previously received assurances from the Prince of Orange, of his cordial co-operation in any measures that might tend to throw off the yoke of France, and restore him to his country; that messengers had been already dispatched in different quarters, to apprize him of the events which had taken place; that with regard to the means which were at their disposal, they were not so contemptible as had been represented: for though not sufficient to effect a Revolution, unaided by other powers; yet, with courage and prudence they might serve to keep out the French until the arrival of succour from England, and from

the allies; and, if their ancestors had wasted that time which they employed in action, in nice calculations of the probability of success—if they had been appalled by the disproportion of force between them and their oppressors, their descendants would in all probability have remained the victims of the inquisition, and Holland would never have existed as a free country. That experience and history proved clearly that when the will of the people was firmly expressed, it must be ultimately triumphant, that the French had been taught by their reverses, to appreciate the truth of this remark, and were well able to calculate and to dread the results of an unanimous insurrection of a nation, headed by firm and resolute chiefs; that the character of the Dutch was neither fickle nor inconstant, and that it was no novel event in their history, to find the natives of Holland risking their lives and fortunes on the most fearful odds, in defence of

their liberty and national independence. That the vengeance of their oppressors was already excited to the utmost, and could only be averted by the boldest efforts; and finally, that as to the ruin of their country, they had been taught by nineteen years of tyranny and oppression, that the only certain ruin for Holland, was submission to the yoke of France.

These representations were received with general, and probably sincere assurances, of good will to the cause, but the Regents, concluded the conference, by distinctly declaring, that as the Confederates had embarked in this enterprize without their knowledge or advice, they must carry it through without any assistance from them as a body; though, as individuals they would each perform every duty of a good citizen, and do every thing to maintain public tranquillity. When the assembly separated, the Confederates re-

quested that those persons who might be disposed to give their assistance, would meet two days afterwards (on the 20th) at the same place; and added, that several Notables would be convened at the same time, in order that some decisive measures might be taken to provide for the defence and government of the country; until the return of His Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange.

The refusal of the Regents to assume the direction of affairs, together with the answer received from Baron Bentinck, were occurrences extremely discouraging to the cause, the one deprived the Confederates of the means of forming at the first onset, a strong and respectable government; and the other, cut off all hopes of immediate assistance from the allies. The conduct of the Regents, had also a bad effect upon the feelings of the public; for, as no one doubted their anxiety for deliverance, this refusal to embark in the enterprize denoted

a conviction of the improbability of success.

In the course of this day, M. Ampt, a young midshipman commanding a gun-boat at Rotterdam, having received intelligence of the events which had taken place at the Hague, repaired to the Confederates, to offer his services and to receive their orders. He was directed by them to endeavour to gain over the sailors and workmen, and with their assistance to obtain possession of the dock yard. The zeal and activity of this young man, who was advanced to the rank of lieutenant by the Confederates, were of great service to the cause by opening a communication with the naval force, which commanded the navigation of the Maese. While this was passing at the Hague, a provisional government had been established at Amsterdam—tranquillity had been restored there; but the new administration was placed in a most extraordinary dilemma;

they had not publicly abjured the Emperor Napoleon, nor had they declared for the Prince of Orange. They acknowledged in fact no Sovereign, and yet they had shewn no disposition to form an independent government. The only object they avowed was the preservation of order. Captain Falch, M. Scholten, with several other persons, urged them in vain to follow the example of the Confederates at the Hague. The latter gentleman, though he was unable to influence the members of the provisional council, received on this day (the 18th) very gratifying promises of support from another quarter.

The Patriot Club, a very numerous and powerful body at Amsterdam, who had formerly been most vehement in their opposition to the Statholder, now through their President offered their services to M. Scholten, in favour of the Prince of Orange, requiring only the promise of a

free constitution; it is needless to add, that this offer was gladly accepted.

In the meanwhile, General Bouvier des Eclats, after leaving the Hague on the morning of the 18th, marched that day as far as Capelle, a village about nine miles beyond Rotterdam, where he fixed his head quarters; but in the night the Prussians mutinied, wounded several of the custom-house officers, who endeavoured to oppose them, spiked the two guns, and returned to the Hague, where they took the oath of fidelity to the Prince of Orange. This corps being completely armed, was a material reinforcement, and the troops of the Confederates received a further augmentation by the arrival of detachments of this same battalion, which being quartered in the neighbourhood, immediately joined their comrades; and also by volunteers from the Hague, and country round. M. J. F. Van Hogendorp, of Rotterdam, who had from the first been in constant commu-

nication with the Confederates, and who, on the 17th, had signed the convocation of the meeting of the ancient Regents, at the Hague, had from that time been actively employed in endeavouring to induce the corporation of Rotterdam to declare for the Prince of Orange; he met however, with a great deal of opposition from those who held offices under the French government; and Admiral Kickert not having as yet declared himself, his efforts were fruitless; so that the French authorities and the military force having quitted Rotterdam on the 19th, all he could obtain was the formation of a provisional council for the preservation of tranquillity, and a proclamation was made by him to that effect; but he was not allowed to make any mention of the Prince of Orange, nor to insert any specific declaration of hostility to the French.

Every thing being at a stand at the Hague from the want of an established

government, and the inhabitants, and more particularly the adherents of the Confederates, shewing the greatest anxiety for some arrangement of this nature, M. M. Van der Duyn van Maasdam, d'Jonge, Repelaer and Changuion, to tranquillize the public, and remove the bad impression occasioned by the result of the first conference; proclaimed to the people, that a second meeting would take place on the following day, when a provisional government would certainly be established. It was of great importance that the Prince of Orange should be informed, as soon as possible, of the events which had taken place: an officer, Captain Wautier, had already been dispatched to the head quarters of the Allies at Frankfort, with a letter for his Most Serene Highness; and on the same day (the 19th) M. M. Perponcher, and Fagel, set sail from Schævening, with a favourable wind for England, to offer the sovereignty to his Most Serene Highness, and

to invite him to come over and assume the government. Persons had also been dispatched in different directions; some to the English fleet; others to the nearest points which were said to be occupied by the Allies. M. Vander Hoven was now sent on a similar mission, with general instructions to use every effort to hasten the advance of the combined armies.

On the 20th the adjourned meeting of the ancient Regents was held at the house of M. Van Hogendorp. Some of the most wealthy persons of the town had been summoned to attend, and altogether about fifty persons assembled. The same arguments which had been before used were now repeated with as little effect; no circumstances had occurred to brighten the prospects of the Confederates; but, on the contrary, the Allies, who had been supposed to be near at hand, were now known to have no considerable force in Holland; the provinces beyond the Yssel being only

feebly occupied by small parties of Cossacks. After some time spent in warm discussion, the assembly broke up, having resisted all the persuasions of the Confederates, and having distinctly refused to appoint any provisional government. The unsuccessful result of this conference cast a general gloom over the minds of the people; they began to suppose their cause desperate, since those individuals, who, from their station, were considered by all as the most fit persons to assume the direction of affairs, refused to commit themselves, or to embark in the enterprise.

The gloom was, however, somewhat relieved by the intelligence of the evacuation of Gouda by the French, and of the establishment of a provisional council there, composed of those magistrates who had been members of the corporation in the years 1794 and 1795. As it was apprehended that the conduct of the ancient

Regents at the Hague might have a bad effect on the corporation of Amsterdam, and confirm them in the temporising plan which they were pursuing, M. Van der Duyn van Maasdam, with M. M. d'Escury and Scholten, determined to repair thither, and endeavour to counteract this tendency, and persuade the provisional government of that city to declare for the Prince of Orange. Their efforts were, however, fruitless; they found some of the magistracy extremely well disposed, but the majority of them refused to commit themselves by any acts, save those which were necessary for the preservation of tranquillity, although they permitted M. M. Kemper and Scholten to reside at Amsterdam as the agents of the Confederates at the Hague. Several of the most respectable inhabitants of the capital, who were not members of the provisional government, gave these gentlemen the strongest assur-

ances of their good-will, and the people manifested the greatest impatience to hoist the Orange flag.

In the evening of the same day, those persons, who, previous to the breaking out of the Revolution, had placed themselves at the disposal of Count Styrum at the Hague, and had since obeyed his orders, assembled at his house, and represented to him, that though he was acting as governor of the town, yet that the formation of a provisional council, which he had promised them, had not taken place; that this delay was very detrimental to the cause; that the people began, in consequence, to be alarmed, and that the success of the whole enterprise would be frustrated, if some remedy were not immediately applied. Count Styrum, in reply to these representations, promised that if the same gentlemen would meet at his house the next morning, their wishes should be gratified. As soon as he had

dismissed them, he repaired to M. Van Hogendorp, and agreed with him, that on the next day the Count should, at the head of his partisans, summon him (M. Van Hogendorp,) to take upon himself the government till the arrival of the Prince of Orange. Some measure of this nature was indeed become absolutely necessary, for the magistracy of Amsterdam and Rotterdam having refused hitherto to gratify the wishes of the people, the Hague stood alone, and had now been four days in a state of revolution, without the authority or support of any established government.

The following day (21st,) Count Styrum, accompanied by a band of friends, among whom were several officers, repaired to the house of M. Van Hogendorp, and summoned him, together with M. Van der Duyn Van Maasdam, to assume the general administration of affairs. The latter gentleman, though absent at Amsterdam, had left with M. Van Hogendorp a power of acting in his name. Two proclamations

were accordingly drawn up, and the signature of these two persons affixed to them; the one announcing to the public that they had taken the government upon themselves until the arrival of the Prince of Orange; the other abjuring the Emperor Napoleon. This last mentioned document had been prepared by M. Canneman, one of the chiefs of the former patriot party, and was signed, without any alteration, by M. M. Van Hogendorp and Van der Duyn, who were among the warmest partisans of the House of Orange. The assumption of the government by these gentlemen was immediately followed by a publication, announcing the appointment of Major General Sweertz Van Landas to the command of the army of Gorcum, and General de Jonge to that of Utrecht.

The consternation of the French and the confidence of the Dutch were materially increased by these measures, which both parties naturally concluded to have been

caused, either by the arrival of strong reinforcements, or by the immediate expectation of powerful assistance. Those who have been accustomed to the immense numbers, which have of late been brought into the field of battle in Russia and Germany, will scarcely credit the following exact statement of the force which was so pompously announced.

The army of Utrecht, commanded by Major General de Jonge, consisted of

300 Infantry, well armed, and
32 Volunteer cavalry, with
2 Eight-pounders.

The army of Gorcum, commanded by Major General Sweertz Van Landas, was composed of

250 Of the Hague Orange Guard;
30 Of the Prussians;
300 Volunteers, and
40 Volunteer cavalry, with
2 Eight-pounders.

The fortress of the Briell being defended by a garrison chiefly composed of foreigners in the French service, a plan was laid

by an officer of that batallion which had joined the Confederates, to gain his countrymen and surprise the place. This attempt was unfortunately discovered by the treachery or indiscretion of some of the inferior agents. The commander of the corps was arrested by the French, and M. Heinman, the mayor, who had been very active in the affair, was compelled to quit the town.

An event, which was announced by a proclamation, dated on this day, from Zwolle, gave great satisfaction to the Confederates, viz. the appointment, by Prince Nariskin, of Baron Bentinck de Buckhurst, to be governor of the department of the mouths of the Yssel, which was occupied by the Cossacks. The Confederates were certain, that the power granted to this gentleman would be actively employed for the advancement of their cause, and that every effort would be made by him to expedite the march of the Allies.

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The town of Rotterdam being reported to be threatened by the garrison of Gorcum, on the 22d, Count Styrum, to whom the disposition of the military force was confided, ordered General Sweertz Van Landas to march with the army of Gorcum upon Rotterdam.

This officer received instructions from the Confederates to propose to Admiral Kickert to declare for the Prince of Orange; and if he declined so doing, to take him prisoner. On the arrival of the General at Rotterdam, he was joyfully received by the inhabitants; his force was augmented by 300 volunteers, with whom, after having fulfilled his commission, and left Admiral Kickert a prisoner on parole, he advanced to take possession of the ports of Crimpen and Nieuve-vier, and to guard the debouchés of Gouda.

Lieutenant Ampt, who has been before mentioned as having offered his services to the Confederates on the 18th, having now

gained over some sailors and ship-builders, and enlisted a number of volunteers, whom he paid and equipped at his own expense, took advantage of the arrival of General Sweertz Van Landas at Rotterdam, and seized upon the dock-yard; he then manned two gun-boats, sailed up the Maase, and succeeded in capturing a vessel laden with 80,000*lb.* of gunpowder and 40,000 cartridges, destined for the garrison of Gorcum. This supply, which, however, did not reach the Hague till the 25th, was the more welcome, as the Confederates were totally destitute of ammunition. The lieutenant subsequently distinguished himself in several skirmishes with the French gun-boats. This was the first shadow of a naval force (if it may be so called) possessed by the Confederates.

Apprehensions being entertained of an attack from the side of Woerden, Major-General de Jonge was detached to Leyden with the army of Utrecht, with orders to

advance to Bodegrave, and observe the garrisons of Woerden and Utrecht: 150 volunteers, armed only with pikes, were also marched upon Donderdam, a post between the Hague and Gouda, to resist any attack from that quarter. The arrival of these troops at their destination, though their numbers were so inconsiderable, proved of great service to the cause; for they gave courage to the people, who every where joined them, and declared for the Prince of Orange: and, in consequence, the provisional government at the Hague published a proclamation, authorizing the chief inhabitants of all those places from which the French authorities had absented themselves, to assemble as Notables, and take charge of the administration.

On the 23d November, M. Van Stissen was dispatched by the Confederates to the provinces beyond the Yssel, which were occupied by the Allies: he found that their whole force consisted of only 4 or 500 Cos-

sacks, under the command of Prince Lapupkin. The Frieslanders were every where disposed to declare for the Prince of Orange, and to enlist as volunteers in his name; but the magistrates of Leeuwaarden and Groningen could not be prevailed upon to take any decisive measures. Upon application being made by M. Van Stissen to P. Lapupkin, he replied, that he should be glad to see a general armament and declaration in favour of His Most Serene Highness, and that he would afford every facility in his power; but that he was resolved not to controul the wishes of the inhabitants. He expressed great admiration of what had been done at the Hague, and promised to order the immediate advance of a body of cavalry to assist the Confederates. A small party of Cossacks who were, in consequence, advancing upon Amsterdam, narrowly escaped being surprised at *bivouac*, by a successful sortie of the garrison of Naarden on the night of the 22d. This event caused

great alarm in the neighbourhood. Meanwhile the provisional government in the capital; continued in a state of indecision; the enemy was known to meditate a general attack on the lines, from Amsterdam to Dordrecht; the contrary winds precluded all hopes of the arrival of immediate succours from England, and the bad state of roads, obstructed the advance of artillery and retarded the march of the Allies, whilst alarm was spread on all sides by the pusillanimous. In this emergency, M. Scholten and Professor Kemper, determined to make another attempt to induce the magistracy to declare for the Orange cause, and the efforts of these gentlemen, aided by the approach of 300 Cossacks, prevailed; the Prince of Orange was solemnly proclaimed at Amsterdam on the 23d, the people shewing the most enthusiastic joy, and hailing him by the title of King of Holland.

The timely advance of these Cossacks may be chiefly ascribed to M. Vander Hoeven,

who fell in with them near Nykirk, and induced their comander, Major Macklay, to push on without delay to the capital. He was received as a liberator by the inhabitants, and obtained great praise for the strict discipline he maintained among his irregular troops. He declined interfering in the government of the town, and observed, that it was his duty, to endeavour to keep out the enemy, but that it was for the inhabitants to make choice of their own government.

Before the intelligence of this event had reached the Hague, a letter was communicated to Count Styrum, and to M. M. Slicher, T'Hoen, and Backman, from M. de Stassart, the former French Prefect, who stated, that the only resource left for the rebels, was to send a humble deputation to him from Rotterdam and the Hague, and that he would in that case endeavour to mitigate the vengeance of the Emperor. The high tone of this communication was

founded upon the arrival at Gorcum, of a reinforcement of 1,500 men from Antwerp, and the advance of a considerable body of troops from the low countries,* with which the Prefect expected very soon to be enabled to reconquer Holland; more especially, as no intelligence had as yet arrived of General Bulow's having passed the Yssel.

The confederates treated this proposal with contempt, and it has since been discovered, that the manner in which it was received gave rise to a very mistaken opinion in the minds of the French, of the force of the partisans of the House of Orange.

As the confederates and their adherents had already made very considerable advances of money from their private fortunes, and as the government began to experience every day the want of supplies, from the inability of collecting the exist-

* This force when it reached Namur, received counter orders, and was employed elsewhere.

ing taxes, and the fear of imprudently committing their authority by levying new impositions; they published a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants for voluntary subscriptions—a measure, which was productive of little good, and served only to display their poverty and weakness. On the same day intelligence was communicated to the public, that an officer, who had been despatched to the English squadron, had returned with promises of speedy assistance; and General de Jonge, having informed Count Styrum that Woerden was occupied by a very feeble French garrison, that officer was ordered to advance from Bodegrave, with the force under his command, and take possession of the town. Colonel Tulling was accordingly despatched with the Orange guard; and the French garrison, after some negotiation, evacuated the place, and retired upon Utrecht. It was immediately occupied by the Dutch troops, who placed a cannon and twenty-

five men in an outpost. Unfortunately, proper precautions were not taken by the raw volunteers, who had made themselves masters of the town; so that, the next morning, (24th) a body of 400 French, having marched from Utrecht, surprised the outpost, took the cannon, escaladed the town, and, after some resistance, got possession of the other gun, and took Colonel Tulling prisoner. It was with much difficulty that the remnant of the Orange guard made good its retreat upon Leyden.

The recapture of Woerden was followed by the commission of many excesses, and acts of cruelty and vengeance. Twenty-five of the unarmed inhabitants were massacred—among whom were several women and children; and many others were desperately wounded. This event spread terror and confusion on all sides. The numbers of the French were exaggerated, as well as the cruelties committed by them,—and all was uproar and

confusion. The inhabitants of those places that had declared for the Prince of Orange were in a dreadful state of terror, expecting to share the fate of those of Woerden; which seemed the more unmerited, as the town had received the Orange troops only on the evacuation of the French. The fugitives, after spreading the alarm at Leyden, and the country round, brought a very exaggerated account to the Hague; and caused so great a consternation, that, if the French had immediately advanced, it cannot be doubted that they might have taken the town; and the most fatal consequences would probably have ensued. So great was the effect of this event upon the inhabitants of Leyden, that they shut their gates, and refused admittance to the volunteers from the country round, who came to their assistance; and would not allow the cannon that had been sent for their defence, to be placed upon the ramparts. On every side the prospect

was equally gloomy. The French, who seemed for a moment to have recovered from their panic, had, in all quarters, resumed offensive operations: the garrison of Gorcum made a sortie on the same day—repulsed the force under Major-General Sweertz van Landas—entered the town of Dordrecht, and levied contributions there. The inhabitants, however, aided by a body of volunteers, soon expelled them; and the army of Gorcum was enabled to resume its former position.

To relieve, in some degree, the gloom occasioned by these events, intelligence was brought to the Hague, that the Cossacks had, with the assistance of some volunteers, advanced from Amsterdam, and taken a fort, which is situated between that place and Haerlem: it was also stated to the public that a letter had been received, announcing the immediate arrival of succours from England. The taking of Zutphen by the Allies, aided by the town's

people, was in like manner published; and a proclamation of M. Van Hogendorp informed the inhabitants, that General Krayenhoff was advancing upon Utrecht. But the people had been so much accustomed to false reports, and had been so often deceived by favourable intelligence, which had never been realized, that little credit was given to any accounts but those of a disastrous nature, which were circulated at every moment, and generally credited. The inhabitants of the Hague were in a state of great consternation; those who had country residences were seen quitting the town; others were shutting up their houses; and the women, in particular, were every where preparing hiding places for themselves and their children. The wind continued adverse to any arrivals from the English coast: the Cossacks, who had been so often announced, had not yet reached the Hague; and the small parties, which had arrived in the neighbourhood of

Amsterdam, not being supported by any other troops, were in danger of being cut off by the garrisons.

In such a crisis, it is difficult to conceive a more alarming situation than that of the Confederates;—not only the ruin of themselves, their families, and their friends, but the entire desolation of their country, would, in case of failure, be ascribed to them; and, after the boldest exertions for the great cause of national independence, they were upon the eve of becoming the victims of exasperated tyranny—of being branded as conspirators and rebels—and of being given to posterity as rash zealots, whose imprudent precipitation had ruined the cause and their country.

In this moment of consternation, the Confederates shewed themselves worthy of the magnitude of the enterprize in which they had embarked;—firm and unshaken in their purpose—calm, amidst the terror and confusion of those about them, but aware

of the extent of the danger, they neglected no means to avert it. Count Styrum was preparing every means of defence, and supplying the numerous deficiencies by every possible expedient. Volunteers were turned out; some armed with pikes—others only with clubs; and thirty-two horsemen, which was all the cavalry that could be collected, were despatched towards Woerden. The governor's son, Count Otto de Styrum, when his father's frame became exhausted by incessant fatigue, and unremitted exertions of body and mind, supplied, by the most strenuous efforts, every emergency; and, foreseeing the impracticability of defending the Hague, (a mere open town) should the French army continue to advance, he prepared a retreat for the Confederates in the Old Palace; where they might defend themselves, with all those who had courage and arms, to the last extremity.

This plan was approved by the govern-

ment; and it was determined, that, in case of necessity, it should be carried into effect. The firmness and intrepidity displayed by M. Van Hogendorp was a subject of admiration to all. Although he laboured, at this time, under great bodily pain, his mind lost none of its energy: he was ably supported by his colleague, M. Van der Duyn van Maasdam, whose zeal and activity seemed to increase in proportion to the exigencies of the moment.

At break of day (on the 25th) the governor was again on the alert, forming a guard for the defence of the town; this guard was chiefly composed of the Burghers, to whom were added some officers, who were chiefly in the half-pay of England, and several discharged and invalided soldiers.

The anxiety of the public was now at the highest pitch. The first inquiry in the morning was, as to the state of the wind, which still continued adverse: its slightest alterations were watched with the greatest

interest; the road from the Hague to Schœveningen was crowded with persons of all ages and sexes, who spent the day on the coast, watching every sail, and deluded by false reports of the arrival of the English. In the midst of this anxiety, (on the 26th), a boat was seen to approach the shore, and it was soon discovered that it contained an Englishman. He landed, amidst the loudest acclamation; and the populace, without waiting for any explanation, and deaf to all remonstrances, conducted him in triumph to the governor's, and thence to M. Van Hogendorp's, amid the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The person who had been thus mistaken for a British officer, proved to be a gentleman named Grant, who had come over on a mercantile adventure, but who had brought with him newspapers, which contained accounts of the hasty preparations that were making for the embarkation of troops for Holland. The effect excited by his

arrival, suggested the idea of keeping up the delusion; and, consequently, with the consent and approbation of M. Van Hogendorp, he dressed himself in an English volunteer uniform, and shewed himself in every part of the town.

The expedient succeeded for the moment beyond expectation, in inspiring the disheartened people with confidence, and intimidating the French, who, having learned the arrival of succours from England, together with a false report of the Cossacks having occupied Leyden, retreated towards Utrecht, and abandoned their intention of advancing upon the Hague. The people, however, were become so incredulous, by the constant succession of false intelligence, that it was very soon suspected to be a contrivance of the government; and some asserted, that the supposed British officer was an inhabitant of Rotterdam, who had been selected for the occasion. Mr. Grant, however, afterwards

rendered more essential service, by carrying accurate intelligence to Admiral Ferrier of the state of affairs in Holland, and of the dangers to which the Confederates were exposed.

At length Admiral Kickert, who had been left a prisoner on parole at Rotterdam by General Sweertz Van Landas, repaired to M. Van Hogendorp at the Hague, and signified to him his determination of declaring for His Most Serene Highness: he then produced a plan of operations to secure the navigation of the Maese, from the Briel to Gorcum. This plan required, however, the immediate advance of 50,000 florins (£5000). M. Van Hogendorp having given him his note of hand for that amount, he returned to Rotterdam, raised the sum among the friends of the Confederates there, and forthwith commenced his operations, by a proclamation abjuring the Emperor Napoleon, and declaring for the Prince of Orange. This event decided the provi-

sional government of that town to follow his example—thus the navigation of the Maese was secured to the Confederates, and all the sailors having, at the instigation of Lieutenant Ampt, immediately hoisted the Orange Flag, vessels were armed and manned without delay, and despatched up the river to sraighten William-Stadt and Helvoetsluys, which were still occupied by the enemy.

The Confederates were, by these measures, protected from any sudden irruption from the side of Gorcum; but the greatest apprehension still existed of an attack from Utrecht. The French army there, under the command of General Molitor, which originally consisted of 4000 regular troops, had been augmented, by the arrival of detached corps, which had been driven in by the peasantry from the surrounding country. There was nothing to impede the advance of this army upon Amsterdam and the Hague, for

it was much superior in numbers and discipline to any force the Confederates could have opposed to it. Their troops, which consisted of only a few hundred men, were for the most part raw volunteers, badly armed, and without any military experience; and they were obliged to be divided upon so many different points, that their main armies were at best but feeble out-posts. It is difficult, in such circumstances, to account for the inactivity of the enemy, otherwise than by supposing them deceived, and intimidated by the accounts which were continually circulated of the arrival of the British and Russian troops. The Dutch displayed great ability in the transmission of false intelligence to the French, who were thus foiled at their favourite weapon. The conduct of Henry Meus, a gardener at Oudshoven, deserves to be recorded.—This man had been very active in the partial insurrection in the month of April, occa-

sioned by the enrolment of the National Guards—he was too well known as a partizan of the Prince of Orange to appear in person; but he procured the fabrication of letters, addressed to different inhabitants of Woerden, announcing the advance of 3000 Russians, with ten pieces of cannon, and the landing of a large body of British at Schœveningen. After the recapture of Woerden by the French, he contrived to gain admittance into the place, and disposed these letters, so that they were intercepted by the enemy—the accounts which they contained were corroborated by the neighbouring peasantry, who all agreed in giving similar information to the French foraging parties, and to their out-posts; and if any doubts remained in the minds of the French, they must have been removed by the examination of General de Jonge's papers, which had been seized on his retreat from Woerden; for among them a private letter was

found, written by M. Van der Duyn van Maasdam to the General, which contained intelligence of the same nature.

About this time also a spy was discovered in Amsterdam, who had established a regular correspondence with General Molitor; he was betrayed to the provisional government by the agents he employed, and they were directed to supply him with such information as the government should direct, and with corroborating papers and documents: it has since been discovered, that the French, who relied much upon the sagacity and fidelity of this person, were, in consequence of the information transmitted by him, in daily expectation of being attacked, and spent that time in concentrating their forces, and preparing for defence, which might have been employed in the recapture of the towns which had declared for the Prince of Orange.

But to return to the Hague.—The in-

habitants of this place were seized with consternation, in the night of the 26th, by a false alarm—the drums beat to arms, and it was supposed that the enemy were already in the town. Even the next morning (27th) the danger was supposed to be so imminent, that Count Styrum thought fit, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by Mr. Grant, to advise him to consult his safety by quitting the country, as the French were at hand. On the same day, however, Mr. Fagel arrived from England, and brought a letter from the Prince of Orange to M. Van Hogendorp, promising the prompt arrival of succours, and stating His Most Serene Highness's intention of setting sail as soon as possible for Holland. This letter induced the Confederates to hope that they might be able to keep out the French till the debarkation of the British troops. It was printed and dispersed, without delay, throughout the country, and put an end to the hesitation

of the magistracy of Leeuwarden and Groningen, who, on the receipt of it, immediately gratified the wishes of the inhabitants of Friezland, by declaring for the Prince of Orange.

It is now time to say something of the efforts made by the agents of the Confederates, to hasten the advance of the combined armies: and, to avoid frequent interruption of the narrative, all that regards this head will here be introduced, although some anticicipation of the order of events must ensue.—Shortly after the Orange flag had been hoisted at the Hague, Captain Wautier was despatched to the head quarters of the Allies, which were then at Frankfort: on the 22d, he found General Bulow at Munster, and communicated to him the events which had taken place in Holland. The General observed, that this insurrection would be as advantageous to the Allies as a successful campaign—but regretted that his instructions

did not permit him to advance beyond the Yssel: he was, however, subsequently induced to deviate from his orders, and act upon his own responsibility. From Munster, Captain Wautier proceeded to Frankfort, where he arrived on the 26th, and communicated to the Baron de Gazern, Commissary-General to the Prince of Orange, a letter to His Most Serene Highness from M. Van Hogendorp, which was opened by the Baron in virtue of his full powers, and its contents were immediately communicated to the Allied Sovereigns. Orders were given, in consequence, that the Provinces beyond the Yssel, occupied by the combined armies, should be treated as a friendly country. On the 20th of November another agent, M. Van der Hoven, was despatched from the Hague: he fell in with a body of Cossacks near Nykirk, and induced their commander, Major Maclay, to advance, as has been already stated, upon Amsterdam. From

Nykirk, M. Van der Hoven proceeded to Zwolle, where he found Prince Nariskin, who, in reply to his representations, promised to march, at the head of his Cossacks, to Amsterdam. The Prince also furnished M. Van der Hoven with passports, to reach the head-quarters of the Prince Royal of Sweden. On his way thither he had an interview at Riessen, on the 26th, with General Benkendorf, who had the command of 6000 regular troops, and twelve pieces of cannon: he omitted no persuasions to induce the General to advance upon Utretcht; but he at first declined so doing,—stating that he had no orders to that effect, and that the failure of his attempt to surprise Deventer would oblige him to place a corps of observation before that fortress and Coeverden—and that his force would not be sufficiently considerable to advance when thus weakened. But the General, notwithstanding these considerations, yielded to

the persuasions of the Confederates, and to the accounts of the exertions of the Dutch; he also gave M. Van der Hoven a letter for General Wintzingerode, whose head-quarters were at Bremen—wishing him to induce him to make a movement towards the Dutch frontier.

M. Van der Hoven delivered this letter on the 29th, accompanied by a communication of the instructions he had received from the Confederates: his efforts were, however, fruitless. General Wintzingerode replied to his representations, "That he had himself made war in Holland; that the dykes rendered cavalry useless; that the numberless fortresses arrested the advance of infantry—and that the passage of artillery was prevented by the quantity of canals. He urged, that a campaign in Holland required much preparation; that the frost was either a dangerous enemy, or a capricious ally; that his troops had as yet met with no reverse; and that he

could not commit the safety of his army by making numerous detachments; that the most certain manner of conquering Holland was to make a demonstration upon Braband; and that, as to General Benkendorf, if he advanced, he should make him personally responsible for his conduct." General Wintzingerode continued immoveable in this determination, which was, however, conveyed in the most polite manner, accompanied by many professions of good will to the cause, and commendations of the efforts that had been made by the people of Holland. M. Van der Hoven, considering now that the only resource left for him was to endeavour to obtain an order for the advance of General Wintzingerode, from the Prince Royal of Sweden, repaired immediately to his head-quarters, where he arrived on the 1st of December.

The observations of his Royal Highness, on the conduct of the Dutch, were

of considerable length, but appear to be too characteristic to be omitted in this place: he said to M. Van der Hoven, "The people of Holland have done more than any other nation, for they have thrown off the yoke, without waiting till the combined armies were in the heart of their country; they have declared themselves unanimously for their former Sovereign; this is well, for if they had not of their own accord taken this step, it would have been suggested to them. The provisional government has directed the energies of the nation to its proper object, and has acted in perfect conformity with the views of the coalition. The time has now arrived when nations are allowed to resume their old habits, and consult their affections and inclinations: however, I did not come from Sweden for the purpose of re-establishing the Prince of Orange, but the restoration of his family agrees with the views and principles of the coalition, and,

therefore, I will do every thing in my power to assist you. Tell your countrymen that I approve their conduct, but let them bear in mind, that it is by perseverance alone, that they can render themselves worthy of the high destinies which await them; let every Dutchman take up arms for the recovery of his independence as the people of Germany have done; let me be informed of their progress, and let a direct correspondence be established for this purpose with my head-quarters; let secret agents be employed to sound the dispositions of the inhabitants of Braband; and, above all, let the most unreserved and confidential communication be opened with the combined Sovereigns at Frankfort. As to your present situation, will 15,000 men be sufficient for you? if so, dispatch a courier to your government to inform them, that an order is signed for General Wintzingerode to advance immediately with 15,000 men. But tell me openly, is

this number sufficient; if not, I will give you 30,000 to complete the expulsion of the enemy. I hear that the French are reinforcing at Gorcum; so much the better, we shall have them also. I have all the Saxons who were employed in the blockade of Dresden; they will replace the Russians I shall send to you: I will come and visit you myself after the termination of the expedition I am now preparing, and which cannot detain me more than sixteen or twenty days. But, remember, let me hear of no retaliation, no spirit of vengeance. Let those individuals be preferred in the formation of the government who have suffered the most by the French, or who have gained the least by them. Nothing can be more just; but let no one be excluded; let there be no hatred of one another among you: I hate nobody, not even the Emperor (Napoleon) who has so cruelly injured France, and who has disgraced the French name. Let your efforts

be employed to deliver yourselves from the enemy, and do not weaken yourselves by internal dissentions."

On the day after his interview with the Prince Royal of Sweden, M Van der Hoven returned to General Wintzingerode's head-quarters, accompanied by an officer with an order from His Royal Highness for the general to advance—on the receipt of which he promised to be before Deventer by the 19th of December.

The history of the proceedings at the Hague will now be resumed.

At length, on the 28th of November, four English men of war appeared off Schœveningen; Captain Baker immediately landed from the Cumberland and proceeded to the Hague, which a detachment of sixty Cossacks had just entered. Still, however, the people were in great alarm, and they were incredulous, as to the arrival of English troops, particularly as Admiral Ferrier sailed with two of the ships from

Schœveningen to the Texel, and the transports which had been erroneously announced as accompanying the fleet, did not appear. An event which occurred in the middle of the night, increased the consternation; a large building in the centre of the town, which had been inhabited by the French Attorney-General, was discovered to be on fire. All the papers belonging to the office had been left there; in three hours the whole edifice was consumed; and, as there were no means which could account for this event as accidental, it was supposed to be a concerted signal given to the French by some of their emissaries in the Hague. In order to dispel the general anxiety, Captain Baker directed as many marines to be landed from the Cumberland and Princess Caroline as could be spared, without endangering the safety of those vessels. Accordingly, on the following day (29th), 200 marines were disembarked. The people were overjoyed at

their arrival; the women embraced them as their deliverers; the men welcomed them with eagerness and delight, and contended for the satisfaction of having an Englishman billeted at their houses—all their former terrors and anxieties were forgotten in the joy for their deliverance; and, from the most excessive despondency, they passed to the opposite extreme; their confidence was at the same time increased by intelligence, that the enemy had retired upon Gorcum, after evacuating Woerden and Nieuwersluys. The day was spent in rejoicings, and in preparations for the arrival of the Prince of Orange, which seemed now the only event wanting to complete their happiness. His Most Serene Highness, who had embarked on the 26th at Deal, on board the Warrior, with Lord Clancarty and the English embassy, arrived on the 30th off Schœveningen. In the course of the voyage they fell in with the Cumberland, and Captain

Baker having communicated to His Most Serene Highness the state of affairs at the Hague, the apprehensions that were entertained of the return of the French, and the feeble means of defence possessed by the Confederates, Lord Cancarty was induced to take upon himself to order Captain Baker off his station, and to send him to Admiral Young with a statement of the above circumstances. The Admiral soon afterwards despatched 300 marines, who were landed at Schœveningen, and employed to make a demonstration on Helvoetsluys.

When His Most Serene Highness approached the Dutch coast, various reports were conveyed to him of the surrender of the Briel, and it was proposed to sail for that port; fortunately, the contrary opinion prevailed, and the original intention was persevered in—of bearing up for Schœveningen. The Briel was still in the possession of the French, and much

risk would have ensued, had the plan of landing there been adopted. As great doubts were entertained of the state of affairs on shore, His Most Serene Highness was with difficulty persuaded, when he arrived off Schœveningen, to permit M. M. Perponcher and Hoppner to precede him to the Hague, in order that they might obtain information, and communinate, by signal, whether it would be safe for him to land.

His impatience was, however, so great, that, without waiting for this signal, a few minutes after these gentlemen had left the ship, he got into a boat, from which he was conveyed in a cart to the shore, under a royal salute from the English ships. An immense concourse of people had rushed into the water to receive him; and it was with difficulty that he could disengage himself from the crowd, which pressed round from every side to congratulate him on his return.

The day was remarkably fine, the sun shone with great splendour, the beach was covered with spectators, the cry of Oranje Boven was heard from all sides, accompanied by demonstations of joy approaching almost to phrenzy.

A more interesting and animating sight cannot be imagined, than that of a Prince who, after a long banishment was thus recalled by the unanimous voice of his countrymen. Their first act on the recovery of freedom, had been to throw themselves into his arms, and without stipulations or restrictions, to hail him as their sovereign. Other restorations have occurred in other countries, but it will be difficult to find another instance of a Prince possessing sufficient greatness of mind, not to abuse such unlimited confidence.—The dangerous experiment thus made, has by the conduct of His Most Serene Highness's government, received whatever justification the most complete success can af-

ford. It is quite vain to endeavour to describe the transports of joy, with which the Prince was received by all classes in Holland; he was hailed as a father and deliverer. The brilliant conduct of the Hereditary Prince and his brother, whilst fighting in the cause of Europe, had proved to the Dutch that this illustrious family had not degenerated in its adversity—and the gallantry of His Most Serene Highness in hastening to share the dangers of his countrymen shewed that he was worthy of their confidence.—After so long a period of war, foreign tyranny, and national decay, every heart was elated at the prospect which his arrival afforded of the return of peace, freedom, and prosperity.

Amid the disgusting scenes of base and unprincipled adulation which have disgraced a neighbouring country, it is with relief that the mind turns to the contemplation of the honest joy of a people whose

applause confers honour and dignity upon its object because it has never been lavished upon a tyrant.*

On the arrival of His Most Serene Highness at the Hague, he proceeded directly to the house of Count Styrum, which was thrown open, and all were admitted into his presence. The scene which ensued was very different from the usual ceremony of court audiences. The greeting

* When the Emperor Napoleon visited Holland in 1811, it was with very great difficulty and at great expense that some persons at the Hague were hired to cry vive L'Empereur. It must have been curious to have observed in what manner the Emissaries of Buonaparte conveyed to him the report of their negociations for this purpose, particularly when they had to state the fact that many persons were deterred from engaging to applaud him by the fear of exposing themselves thereby to the insults and indignation of the populace; but notwithstanding the ill success of this attempt he mounted his horse and rode at a foot's pace for a considerable distance through the crowd, of whose hatred he was well aware, with an air of contempt and unconcern.—He had no military escort to keep off the mob who even touched his horse and his person. When he traversed the town he gathered up the reins which he had allowed to fall on his horses neck, and galloped to Schœveningen to view some works that were erecting in that neighbourhood.

between William the First and his subjects, who rushed tumultuously into his presence, was like the meeting between dear friends who have long been parted; mutual congratulations were uttered in broken sentences, and accompanied by tears, whilst those who had approached the Prince—nay, who had pressed his hand, almost doubted their senses, and exclaimed, "Is it really true, is it not a dream?" At night the whole town was illuminated; and, as the people every where proclaimed William the First Sovereign Prince, it was proposed that he should immediately assume that title; it was, however, after some consideration, decided, that no step of this nature should be taken till His Most Serene Highness had visited the capital. The Prince was desirous of proceeding the next day to Amsterdam, but he was detained by a Council of War, which was attended by Generals Bulow and Benkendorf, and by Lord Clancarty; and in this

Council the future military operations were decided upon.

The whole military force at the Hague consisted of 500 volunteers, 250 national guards, 400 chasseurs etrangers, 200 cavalry, 4 pieces of cannon, 1 howitzer, and the 200 English marines, which had been landed by Captain Baker. These troops would not have been sufficient to prevent the advance of the French. But the arrival of the Prince of Orange inspired the Dutch with fresh courage, and induced the French to form an erroneous opinion, that he was attended by powerful support from England. From this time the success of the Revolution was considered by the people as certain; yet calm observers were not without serious apprehensions, when they considered the feeble means of defence which the government at that time possessed, for the enemy still occupied the following fortresses:— Naarden, Gorcum, the Briel, Helvoet-

sluys, Goederude, Oeltgensplaat, Nieuwpoort, the Helder, Arnheim, Deventer, Delfziel, Coeverden, Nimege, Gräve, Bois-le-Duc, Venlo, Heusden, Loevestein, Gertrüydenberg, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, Sternbergen, and the whole of Zealand, including the Island of Walcheren, so that the Prince of Orange, in fact, had nothing more than the open towns—indeed his situation was considered so critical, that Lord Clancarty thought it prudent to detain the Warrior some days upon the coast, as a resource in case of any reverse.

His Most Serene Highness, convinced that unanimity in a nation is the greatest source of strength, lost no time in giving the Dutch people a pledge of the principles and conduct of his future government. Accordingly, on the 1st of December, the following Address was made public:

"*William Frederic, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange Nassau, &c.*

"My dear Countrymen!

"After nineteen years of absence I received, with the greatest joy, your unanimous invitation to return among you. I am now returned; and I hope, by the blessing of Providence, to be the means of restoring you to your former state of independence and prosperity. This is my only object; and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that this is also the object of the combined powers:—this is particularly the wish of the Prince Regent and of the British nation; and it will be proved to you by the succour which that powerful people will immediately afford you, and which will, I hope, restore those ancient bonds of alliance and friendship, which were a source of happiness and prosperity to both countries. *I am come among you, determined to pardon, and to forget all that*

is past. Our only object must be to heal the wounds of our country, and to restore to it its rank and splendour among the nations of Europe: the revival of trade will, I hope, be the immediate consequence of my return. *All spirit of party must be banished from amongst you.* No effort will be neglected on my part, nor on that of my family, to secure your independence, and to render you happy and prosperous. My eldest son is on his way to join me: he has proved, under the immortal Wellington, that he is not unworthy of his ancestors. Unite with me, my dear countrymen! in heart and soul;—then Holland will flourish as in former times—and we shall be enabled to transmit to our children the prosperity and the blessings we received from our forefathers.

" 1st December, 1813. W. F. Prince of Orange.

" By order of H. M. S. H. H. FAGEL."

The sentiments contained in this address gave general satisfaction; and it will be found, by the subsequent conduct of His Most Serene Highness's government, that they were not empty professions.

Whilst this was passing at the Hague, a Russian force, consisting of 2,400 men, and six pieces of cannon, under the command of General Benkendorf, landed at Amsterdam. These troops had embarked on the Zuyder Zee, to avoid the French army at Utrecht: the Prussians were also, at this time, known to be advancing against Utrecht. Nor was this all: for, on the same day, the important fortress of Briel was taken. This place was garrisoned by 500 men; about half of whom were Prussians and foreigners, who were disaffected to the French service, and daily deserted. The town's-people, profiting by this circumstance, rose upon the French; and, aided by the national guards, who were all Dutch, after fighting

in the streets for an hour and a half, compelled the French garrison to surrender, and hoisted the Orange flag. These events were the more welcome, from their taking place so immediately after the arrival of His Most Serene Highness.

The address of the Prince of Orange, of the 1st of December, having been distributed at Amsterdam, a proclamation was, on the same day, published there, by the commissioners of the Confederates; and it contained the following passage—remarkable as being the first authentic declaration of the sovereignty, which has been since conferred upon the Prince of Orange.—

"The uncertainty, which formerly existed as to the executive power, will no longer paralyze your efforts: it is not William the Sixth whom the nation recalls, without knowing what to hope or expect from him—but William the First, who offers himself as Sovereign Prince to the same people who, in former times, were delivered

from a disgraceful foreign yoke by a preceding William the First:—your civil liberty will be guaranteed to you more firmly than ever it was, by a constitution founded upon the law.

"But the energy—the external power of a neighbouring nation, whose government is the principal cause of the prodigies which have astonished us, must be balanced by us. Some sacrifices must still be made;—then will Holland be respected as in former times, and her flag will be seen to wave on every sea.

"The Netherlands are delivered—and William the First is the Sovereign Prince of this free country.

"Amsterdam, 1st December, 1813.

"(Signed.) T. M. KEMPER.
F. SCHOLTEN."

On the 2d of December His Most Serene Highness, accompanied by the English embassy, made his entrance into Am-

sterdam: he was received there with unanimous applause by all classes, and proclaimed Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. The next day the following address was published:—

"*We William Frederic, Prince of Orange Nassau, &c.*

"It is impossible for me to express the feelings, which I have experienced on my arrival in the capital.

"After nineteen years of absence, I find myself, like a father surrounded by his children, in the midst of a people whom I have never ceased to love. Never will my reception in Holland—my entrance into Amsterdam, be effaced from my memory: I will prove it by my love —by my affection for you.

"You desire, Netherlanders! that I should be entrusted with a greater share of power than I should have possessed but for my absence: your confidence, your

affection offer me the sovereignty—and I am called upon from all sides to accept it; since the state of my country and the situation of Europe require it.

" I accede to your wishes, and I overlook the difficulties which may attend such a measure: I accept the offer which you have made to me—but I accept it only on condition, that it shall be accompanied by a wise constitution, which shall guarantee your liberties, and secure them against every attack;—I accept it, with a full conviction of the duties which such a measure impose on me.

" My ancestors sowed the seeds of your independence: the preservation of that independence shall be the constant object of the efforts of myself and those around me.

" In this moment, which is still a moment of difficulty and of danger, I depend upon your co-operation and assistance. Additional efforts are still necessary—ef-

forts, which will soon place you in so respectable a situation, that no foreign enemy will be able to withstand the enthusiasm of a regenerated people, aided by the victorious arms of their Allies.

"Given at the Town House of Amsterdam,
"2d December, 1813.

"(Signed.) W. FREDERIC, Prince of Orange.
"(And afterwards) VAN der DUYN van MAASDAM."

This proclamation was received with every testimony of applause. The deliverance from the tyranny of the French, and from the degradation of foreign dominion, swallowed up all other considerations, and not one was disposed to find fault with the terms upon which the blessing was obtained. Fortunately, the government of the Prince of Orange has proved itself worthy of a more permanent and legitimate support than can be derived from the cries of a thoughtless mul-

titude, or from an act of mere popular enthusiasm.

But although it be absurd to consider the voice of a mob as the expression of the will of a nation; yet the honest and enthusiastic joy of the people of Holland, at the return of the Prince of Orange, must not be confounded with applauses purchased by corruption, or extorted by fear, with which a military despotism is frequently attended, and which, instead of being a compliment to the government, serves only as a proof of the degradation of the people. William the First had neither money to bribe, nor military force to intimidate or controul; and when a prince, without either treasure or army, is greeted with universal and unanimous applause, such applause may fairly be considered as sincere, and as proceeding from the hearts of his subjects. This observation acquires additional force from the previous conduct of the people of Holland with regard to

their former rulers. Louis Buonaparte, who was far from being personally obnoxious to the Dutch, has been seen to appear in public without the slightest mark of applause, or even of respect—without a sound of approbation being uttered, or a head uncovered; and this, too, from a people to whom he was doubtlessly attached, and for whom he was daily braving the displeasure of his brother.

During the stay of His Royal Highness at Amsterdam, intelligence was received (on the 2d) of the capture of Arnheim, which was stormed with the greatest bravery by the Prussian troops, under the command of General Bulow. Thus all apprehensions ceased respecting the army of General Molitor, which was in full retreat; and all fears of an attack from the side of Utrecht were dissipated. The French were still in force in the neighbourhood of Gorcum—but General Bulow was preparing to advance upon that place. In

the meanwhile, the Fort du Quesne, at Oeltgensplaat, was surprised on the 4th by a band of workmen, who were employed in the fortifications: this event materially contributed to the subsequent surrender of Helvoetsluys. On the same day, a number of vessels were perceived off Schœveningen, and were mistaken for transports, conveying the British troops which were daily expected. Billets were immediately made out, and the inhabitants of the Hague were directed to prepare for the reception of the men: a few hours dissipated the error —but not before a belief was spread over the whole country, that a large English force had landed in Holland.

While this was passing, the Prince of Orange, having quitted Amsterdam, arrived at the Hague, where he was received by M. M. Slicher, and T'Hoen, who presented to him an address, congratulating His Royal Highness upon the sovereignty which had been conferred upon him, and

stating that the inhabitants of the Hague had been restrained from being the first to proclaim him by that title only by a feeling of respectful deference for the capital. The marines, which had been landed from Admiral Young's fleet, aided by a body of Dutch troops, having advanced to the neighbourhood of Helvoetsluys, that town was evacuated in the night of the 5th by the French; and thus the communication with England, which had hitherto been exposed to great hazard and delay, was rendered safe and expeditious.

The next day 1700 English guards landed at Schœveningen, which event, together with the capture of Arnheim, terminated all doubt as to the success of the Revolution. On the 6th also a Proclamation was issued by the Prince of Orange at the Hague, in which His Royal Highness stated, that when, in conformity with the general wish expressed by the people, he had taken upon himself the sovereignty, it was his

desire to celebrate this event by a solemn inauguration; but that the situation of the country, and the important occupations that resulted, had induced him to delay this ceremony, till he should be able to present to the nation a constitution which should insure to the natives of Holland "their ancient liberties."

His Royal Highness then proceeded to announce, that, in the meanwhile, he had taken the management of affairs into his own hands, and dissolved the provisional government; expressing at the same time his gratitude for their efforts, and his entire approbation of their conduct, "to which the liberation of Holland (he observed) may be chiefly ascribed, and without which their deliverance might have been the result only of the victorious arms of the Allies." He then absolved his subjects from the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Napoleon, and concluded by stating, that his reliance was entirely

founded upon the affection of his countrymen, the protection of Providence, and the consciousness of the purity of his intentions. This proclamation was followed by the acknowledgment of William the First as Sovereign Prince in every part of Holland which was not occupied by the French; that is to say, in all the country and open towns, from the department of the Ooster Ems to the right bank of the Maese.

However, as the enemy was still in possession of almost all the principal fortresses of the country, and as a French garrison was at Naarden, within nine miles of Amsterdam, measures were immediately adopted, and forwarded with the utmost exertion by the government of His Royal Highness, for the formation of an army, the levy of troops, and the regulation of the military force—but the country was so completely drained of arms and ammunition, and of every thing ne-

cessary for the accoutrement of the men, that for a considerable time it was impossible to equip the new levies: the long and severe frost which ensued not only delayed the arrival of arms and clothing from England, but prevented the transport of the slender means which the country afforded; when at length, in spite of the greatest difficulties, a supply for 4000 men was received from the British government, this quantity proved so insufficient, that the Dutch recruits were obliged to serve during the unexampled severity of the winter months, with very insufficient clothing. Notwithstanding these difficulties, in the space of four months, from a population of 1,800,000 souls, 25,000 men* were raised, armed, and equipped

* The total of the regular force raised, armed, and clothed in April, 1814, amounted to 23,358 infantry, and 932 cavalry; but besides the above, there were about 10,000 of the levee en masse, or landsturm, armed and equipped as well as circumstances would allow, and who were employed alternately in the blockade of those fortresses

in a country which had been previously exhausted by the conscription, and part of which was still in the possession of the enemy. With regard, however, to the military events which took place in Holland after that time, the compiler of this Narrative has no means of information which are not already before the public; and he does not think it material to his purpose to collect and recite them. Nothing therefore remains for him but to relate the manner in which the Prince of Orange performed the promise which he made to the people of Holland—that the assumption of the sovereign power should be accompanied by "a wise constitution, which should guarantee their liberties, and secure them against every attack."

One of the first acts of his Royal

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which were still occupied by the enemy; and it was estimated, that by the end of May, 44,564 infantry, and 5,376 cavalry, would be fit for actual service.

Highness's government was the appointment of a committee of fourteen persons to form a constitution; two members of this committee acted for the province of Gueldre, six for that of Holland, and one for each of the provinces of Zeeland, Utrecht, Friezland, Over Yssel, Groningen, and Braband. Among these members were M. M. Van der Duyn van Maasdam, Van Hogendorp, and Repelaer, who had belonged to the original Confederacy.

The committee, after sitting about three months, presented to the Prince of Orange a plan of a constitution, which was immediately printed and published, in order that the people of Holland might have full time to examine and consider every part of it, before they proceeded to the important office of deciding upon its merits. Those who have been accustomed to witness the eagerness and warmth of political discussions in England, would perhaps have been surprised to observe the

calmness and moderation with which this most important subject was treated in Holland—but the author thinks it incumbent on him to state, that in no instance has he ever witnessed, or been informed of the slightest attempt on the part of his Royal Highness's government to control the expression of public opinion, on this or on any other subject.

It was determined that 600 Notables should be assembled to decide upon the constitution which was formed by the committee, and for that purpose 1200 names were chosen by the government from among the most respectable householders in the different towns and provinces in Holland including persons of every religious persuasion, Jews not excepted. A special commission was then formed, who from this number, selected 600 names, which were then published, and every housekeeper was called upon to give his vote for, or against their election. The

600 members thus chosen, met at Amsterdam on the 28th of March. On the following day His Royal Highness proceeded to the assembly which was held in the great church, splendidly fitted up for the occasion, and there he delivered the following speech.

"Gentlemen!

"It is with the most lively emotion that I open this assembly: at the very moment when I was commencing the career, in which my services might have been useful to the state, I was constrained, by revolutions that have agitated Europe during a quarter of a century, to quit my native land, and I have been compelled to remain nineteen years absent from my countrymen. The accounts which in the mean while reached me of the decline of a nation whose glory and happiness had so long been united with the glory and happiness of my family, served only to augment

my attachment to the people of Holland; but the unexampled successes of the universal usurper of the continent seemed to preclude all hope of my ever being enabled to revisit my native land, and witness its enfranchisement.

"But thanks to the goodness of Providence, to the triumphant arms of the avengers of the violated rights of nations, and to the zeal and energy of the Netherlanders themselves in the recovery of their liberty; I am not only restored to my country, but I am also at the same time surrounded and supported by every testimony of love and affection that a people can offer to their Prince. I cannot, therefore, without the most lively emotion, open this assembly where so numerous a portion of the most respectable and wealthy of that people are met to decide on the most important question that ever was taken into consideration; namely, the acceptance or rejection of the constitution. Your

decision will influence the happiness, not only of the present, but, it is to be hoped, also of future generations.

"I am fully impressed, gentlemen, with the solemnity of the subject, and I am aware that it is my duty to remind you of the importance of your mission.

"When the majority of the nation declared their will, that the exercise of the Sovereign Power should be vested in me, I answered, I would accept the trust, only on condition, that a constitution congenial to the interests of Holland, and calculated for the present state of Europe, should ensure to you personal liberty, security of property, and in a word, all the rights which characterize a free people.

"A Commission composed of men whose talents and patriotism are above all doubt, have formed such a constitution.

"M. Van Maanen will detail to you the grounds upon which this political code has been established, but it neither is, nor

can be my intention, that your proceedings on this most important occasion should be an idle ceremony.

"The experience of the last twenty years has demonstrated, that universal suffrage, instead of being the expression of the national will, is but a delusion: I have, therefore, convoked this assembly, in order that persons collected from all parts of the country, and chosen from among the most eminent and respectable citizens, should, after mature deliberation and unbiassed by any foreign influence or persuasion, declare, whether or not this constitution appears to them a sufficient guarantee for their own happiness and welfare, and for that of future generations.

"It would be an insult to your understanding, gentlemen, to expatiate on the importance of this deliberation, but I must add, that it would be an insult to me, if any one of you could suppose that in his decision he is to be influenced by any

other considerations than the dictates of his conscience.

"The interest and welfare of your country must be your sole guide; and I call Heaven to witness, that this, and this only, is the end and object of all my efforts and desires."

Immediately after the delivery of this speech, His Royal Highness quitted the assembly, and after a few hours deliberation, a discharge of artillery announced to the public that the constitution had been accepted. The members present were 483, and the votes as follows:

Ayes	458
Noes	25

117 members were absent—and the majority of them were considered as dissentients: several of this number however, were prevented by unavoidable obstacles from attending; so that it may be calculated, that if the whole body of 600 had voted —there still would have remained a ma-

jority of more than 500. The dissentients chiefly objected to the power of declaring war and concluding treaties of peace being vested in the Sovereign.—Some individuals urged that the Protestant interest was endangered by the admission of persons of every persuasion to all public offices, and the Catholics complained that the state did not sufficiently contribute to the support of their religious establishments.

The following day, (30th March), His Royal Highness went in state to the great church of Amsterdam.—On his passage, the streets were crowded to excess, the roofs of the houses covered with spectators, and all joined in the most enthusiastic applause.—Nothing was omitted that could add to the splendour of the ceremony.—His Royal Highness entered the church, attended by a guard formed of the Burghers of Amsterdam, and proceeded through the principal aisle, to take his seat under a

canopy, between his two sons.—After hearing an Address from the President of the Notables, His Royal Highness rose and delivered the following speech:

"Gentlemen,

"It is with exquisite satisfaction that I find my opinion of the constitution, confirmed by the judgment of so many respectable and wise men.

"It is not less gratifying to me to receive, on this solemn occasion, assurances of zeal and attachment from so august an assembly.

"Our national honour, our true interests, and the visible favour with which the Most High has deigned to succour us, should all encourage us to persevere indefatigably in every exertion for the benefit of our country.

"Four months are but just elapsed since my return to the Netherlands; and, in this short period, we have advanced beyond

what could have been expected, in the great work of restoring the state.

"Foreign powers have shewn, by exertions which deserve our boundless gratitude, not only their joy at the recovery of our independence, but also their approbation of the investment of the sovereignty in my family.

"The most important of our foreign relations—that with generous Great Britain, will ere long acquire an additional degree of intimacy and union, by the marriage of my eldest son.

"There is nothing, however, which gives me so much confidence as the experience which I have obtained of the disposition and attachment of the people of Holland. Their zeal for the good cause has enabled me, in the space of a few weeks, to raise, in this exhausted country, more than 25,000 men; the greater part of whom will, in a few days, be assembled on

the frontiers, well-armed and equipped, under the command of my sons.

"The unanimity of the nation in all that regards the welfare of the state, has been strongly proved by the rapid enrolment of the militia, the landsturm, and the city guards; and, lastly, in the present instance, by the acceptance of the constitution. I am persuaded, gentlemen, that I act in conformity to your wishes, in providing for its immediate introduction, and by making, for this purpose, all the appointments, and taking all other necessary measures; without which its operations might, for a long time, remain illusory and imperfect.

"This important task will, henceforward, be the chief object of my attention and efforts; and, in the fulfilment thereof, I hope to be guided by the same impartiality and solicitude for the general welfare with which I have thus far endea-

voured to mark every act of my government.

"If the spirit of the constitution remains inviolate, the country will be preserved from civil dissentions, and from all controversies and jealousies, between the different Provinces; for no greater degree of liberty can be desired by rational subjects, nor any larger share of power by the sovereign, than that which is respectively allotted to them by this political code. The people and the prince, the governed and the governors, will find, in its just and liberal regulations, the best motives and incitements for reciprocal harmony and co-operation.

"It is with these sentiments—the result of calm deliberation, augmented by the solemnity of this memorable day—that I now declare myself ready to take, in the midst of the Representatives of the United Netherlands, the oath prescribed by the constitution for the sovereign."

His Royal Highness paused an instant, to recover from his emotion;—then stretching forth his hand, with a distinct, though tremulous voice, and in the most impressive manner, he recited the words of the oath.

"I swear, that, first and above all things, I will observe and maintain the Constitution of the United Netherlands; and that I will promote, to the utmost of my power, the independence of the state, and the liberty and prosperity of its inhabitants;—

"So help me God."

The ceremony was, in the highest degree, awful and imposing: the Prince, on his return from the assembly, was greeted with shouts of applause from the multitude; the Dutch people, who are not in general supposed to be susceptible of much enthusiasm, seemed, on this occasion, to have acquired all the animation and eagerness

of the inhabitants of the south; and, if any faith can be placed in external demonstrations, and in the air of happiness which every countenance displayed, no doubt can be entertained of the universal joy which was experienced by the people of Holland:—no motive, that feeling or reflection could dictate, was wanting to excite them to rejoice; and it is pleasing to add, that their expectations have not been frustrated.

The principle of His Royal Highness's government has been to act impartially to all his subjects; and his confidence has been extended to all those, who espoused his cause at a time of the greatest hazard, whatever might have been their former political opinions and conduct. Some censure has been excited among the factious by this proceeding; but His Royal Highness has justly obtained the admiration of all, who are really attached to their country.

With regard to the New Constitution,

every class in Holland seemed to agree in acknowledging, that some radical change in the whole form of government was necessary. There existed, undoubtedly, differences of sentiment as to the nature of that change—but none as to the propriety of strengthening the executive branch of the government. As the first magistrate of a republic, the Stadtholder was too powerful; as a monarch, too weak. With such a prince as William the Third, whose personal influence was great, the affairs of the republic might be administered with success; but, under a Stadtholder of less commanding talents, experience had repeatedly demonstrated, that the result must be weakness abroad, and civil dissentions at home.

The Assembly of the States-General, as it formerly existed, was a congress, composed of the ambassadors of seven independent sovereigns. According to the Union of Utrecht, which was considered as

the Magna Charta of Holland, it was necessary for the conclusion of every treaty of peace, and for the declaration of war, that the States-General should be unanimous; this was very seldom the case—not even in that of the Treaty of Munster. By the Union of Utrecht it was also provided, that the taxes should be uniform:—this stipulation was, however, entirely disregarded; and, indeed, the government could only be carried on by means of constant breaches of the constitution. In order to excuse the measures which necessity dictated, the Stadtholder was obliged to endeavour to form partisans. Thus the person entrusted with the executive branch of the government became the head of a faction; and, though his legitimate power was very small, his influence was capable of becoming very great—an influence, which, in the hands of an ambitious and able man, might terminate in complete despotism; for when once the principle is

established, that the Prince may be justified in direct and constant violations of the constitution, such violations seem to have, from that moment, no bounds but the will of the Sovereign.

In process of time, the increasing prosperity of the principal commercial towns of Holland gave their deputies so great a weight in the States-General, that the other representatives lost all influence in the decision of affairs, and became mere spectators, possessing only the power of retarding and incumbering the proceedings of the state—in peaceable times they were mere cyphers—in moments of civil dissention, they became the resource of the weaker party, and a means of harassing and impeding the stronger. Hence a wide field was open for intrigue and corruption, and a ruinous vacillation and uncertainty took place in every operation of the government. The principal powers of Europe openly formed partisans in Holland, by

whom they endeavoured to interfere in the internal, as well as external affairs of the Republic, so that the Hague became an arena, in which the ambassadors of foreign courts were ever contending with each other for influence, by every art of intrigue and corruption. Holland was, in consequence, dragged into every war, and obliged to take a part in every quarrel. Notwithstanding the defects of this government, as long as the balance of power existed in Europe, Holland retained its rank among independent nations; but as soon as France obtained the preponderance, a country whose inhabitants had lost the habits of war, and had to guard an extensive frontier, and was weakened by civil dissentions, fell an easy prey to the first army that invaded its territory. The proof of what France, under an ambitious, and military chief, has been enabled to effect, rendered it necessary, for the good of Europe, that a government, capable of

defence, should be opposed to it on the Flemish frontier; and it was more peculiarly the interest of England, whose welfare and prosperity is so closely connected with Holland, that this country should enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil liberty, united with a government of sufficient strength to ensure its national independence. Time will decide upon the merits of the present constitution: the numerous political codes which have, within the last twenty years, been composed, and and the failure of almost all of them, must create a diffidence in forming a judgment of any, till some experience has been obtained of their operation: one conclusion, however, may be drawn from the instability of the modern revolutionary systems of legislature, viz. that the dispositions of the government, and of the people, are of as much importance as the text of the code; in Holland, it is very clear, that those dispositions are, on both sides, most

favourable to freedom—there is something in the tone and the feelings of the Dutch, which has a constant tendency to the preservation of their liberties; and should any partial alterations be hereafter thought necessary in the present constitution, there is every reason to hope, that those alterations will be made with the wisdom and moderation which form the characteristic features of the Dutch nation.

APPENDIX.

The Constitution

OF THE

UNITED NETHERLANDS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE PRINCE SOVEREIGN.

Article 1.

THE Sovereignty of the United Netherlands is vested in His Royal Highness William Frederick Prince of Orange-Nassau; to be possessed by him and his lawful descendants, in hereditary succession, according to the following regulations.

Art. 2.

By the lawful descendants of the Prince Sovereign, are to be understood, all the issue of any marriage contracted by him with the consent of the States-General.

Art. 3.

The Sovereignty shall devolve, by right of primogeniture and representation, to the eldest son of the deceased Prince, or to the male heir descended from the eldest son, in case of his previous decease.

Art. 4.

In default of a male heir descended from the eldest son, the sovereignty shall descend to his brothers or to their male heirs, in like manner, by right of primogeniture and representation.

Art. 5.

In case of the absolute default of all

male issue, the sovereignty shall devolve to the daughters, or their heirs, in such succession as before stated, with respect to the sons or their heirs.

Art. 6.

In default of the issue of the present Prince Sovereign, William Frederick of Orange-Nassau, the sovereignty shall devolve to his sister, Princess Frederika Louisa Wilhelmina of Orange, Dowager of the late Charles George Augustus, Hereditary Prince of Brunswick Lunenburg; or to the lawful issue of any future marriage contracted by her in conformity to Article 2.

Art. 7.

If this princess should die without leaving lawful issue, the hereditary right shall devolve to the lawful male heirs of the Princess Carolina of Orange, sister of the late Prince William the Fifth, and consort

of the late Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, in like manner, by right of primogeniture and representation.

Art. 8.

If particular circumstances should render any alteration in the hereditary succession necessary, the Prince Sovereign has power to propose a law respecting it to the States-General.

Art. 9.

In case there should not exist a proper hereditary successor, as before provided, the reigning Prince shall be bound to propose a successor to the States-General.

Art. 10.

The States-General having approved the successor proposed, the Prince Sovereign shall then proclaim his nomination to the

people, in the manner in which all other laws are promulgated.

Art. 11.

If, from unforeseen circumstances, such a successor shall not have been nominated before the decease of the reigning Prince, the States-General shall nominate a successor, and proclaim his appointment to the people.

Art. 12.

The Sovereign Prince shall enjoy an annual income of fifteen hundred thousand florins, to be raised in the manner stipulated in the two following articles; and, besides, a summer and a winter residence shall be prepared and kept up for his use.

Art. 13.

The law may provide, that in part payment of the said annual income, landed

estates, of the clear yearly value of five hundred thousand florins, or thereabouts, shall, with the approbation of the Sovereign Prince, be vested in him in full possession, as a patrimonial property.

Art. 14.

The residue of the said annual income shall be raised from the usufruct of property hereafter to be assigned; or from the public treasury.

Art. 15.

The Sovereign Prince, and the Princes and Princesses of his House, shall be exempted from all personal and other direct taxes, except the house and land taxes.

Nevertheless, the buildings destined for their use or habitation, shall be free from all taxes. As to taxes on articles of consumption, neither they nor their attendants can claim any exemption whatever.

Art. 16.

The Sovereign Prince shall settle his household-establishment as he may think proper.

Art. 17.

The eldest son of the Sovereign Prince is the first subject of his Father.

As hereditary Prince, the title of *Royal Highness* shall be given to him.

The other Princes and Princesses of the family shall retain the title of *Serene Highness.*

Art. 18.

The hereditary Prince shall receive, from the public treasury, an annual sum of one hundred thousand florins, to commence from the day on which he shall attain his eighteenth year.

Art. 19.

The Sovereign Prince shall be of age on completing his eighteenth year.

Art. 20.

In case of minority, the Sovereign Prince shall remain under the guardianship of persons, who are members of the sovereign house, and of some eminent natives of the country. The guardians shall be previously appointed by his predecessor and the States-General.

Art. 21.

If, through unforeseen circumstances, the arrangement, concerning the guardianship, shall not have been previously made, the States-General shall appoint such guardians as are mentioned in the foregoing article, with the advice, as far as possible, of the nearest relations of the sovereign house.

Art. 22.

On the decease of the Sovereign Prince, the States-General are to meet without any

previous convocation. The members who shall assemble in the Prince's residence within eight days after his decease, shall open the Extraordinary Assembly.

Art. 23.

During the minority of the Sovereign Prince, the Sovereignty shall be exercised by a Regent.

This Regent shall be previously appointed by the Prince Sovereign and the States-General. In like manner the succession to the Regency may be appointed until the majority of the hereditary successor.

Art. 24.

If, through unforeseen circumstances, no provision shall have been made for a Regency, during the life of the deceased Prince, the States-General shall provide in this respect.

If no provision shall have been made

concerning the succession to the Regency, the successor shall be appointed by the Regent and the States-General jointly.

Art. 25.

The same regulations respecting a Regency shall be applied in cases where the Prince Sovereign may become incapable of exercising the power of Government.

Whenever it shall appear to the Council of State, composed of its ordinary Members, and the Heads of the Ministerial Departments, after accurate and united investigations, that such case is really existing, the Council shall convoke the States-General, for the purpose of providing a Regency according to the above regulations, during the continuance of such case.

Art. 26.

If, in such a case, the Hereditary Prince shall be of age, he shall be Regent,

by birth-right; but if he be then a minor, the Sovereign authority shall be exercised in this and the other cases mentioned in articles 11 and 24, by the Council of State, composed in the manner mentioned in article 25, until it shall be otherwise provided for by the States-General.

Art. 27.

If the Prince Sovereign shall not have concerted any of the regulations mentioned in articles 9, 20, and 23, with the States-General, then the latter shall solemnly declare the fact, and provide accordingly, upon the principles above mentioned.

Art. 28.

The Prince Sovereign, on assuming the government, shall take the following oath in the presence of the Assembly of the States-General:

"I swear, that first and above all things,

I will observe and maintain the Constitution of the United Netherlands; and that I will promote, to the utmost of my power, the independence of the State, and the liberty and prosperity of its inhabitants:

"So help me God."

Art. 29.

After the above oath shall have been taken, the Prince Sovereign shall be invested with the government by the States-General, who shall make the following solemn declaration:—

"In virtue of the Constitution of this State, we swear allegiance to you, and receive you as Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands: we swear that we will support and maintain your high and Sovereign rights; that we will serve you faithfully in the defence of your person and of the State; and that we will act, in every thing, as good and faithful States-General are bound to act:

"So help us God."

Art. 30.

The administration of the oath to the Prince Sovereign, and his inauguration by the States-General, shall take place in the city of Amsterdam, as the capital of the country.

Art. 31.

After the taking of the oath and the inauguration shall be made known to the States of the provinces or districts by the Sovereign Prince, they shall do homage to him in the following terms:—

"We swear that we will continue always true and faithful to you, as the lawful Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands, in the defence of your person, and state: that in conformity to the duties imposed upon us by the Constitution, we will obey the commands given to us by you, or in your name: that we will aid and assist your servants and counsellors in the exe-

cution of the same; and finally that we will perform all the duties faithful subjects owe to their Prince Sovereign:

"So help us God."

Art. 32.

The Prince Sovereign shall exercise all acts of Sovereignty, after having submitted them to the deliberation of the Council of State.

He alone shall decide, and he shall communicate all his decisions to the said Council.

All his decrees are to commence as follows:—"The Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands, &c. having heard the Council of State," &c.

The Members of this Council are to be chosen, as much as possible, out of all the provinces or districts: the Prince Sovereign shall nominate the Members, to a number not exceeding twelve, and shall remove them at his pleasure; and, if he deem it

necessary, he may appoint one of the Secretaries of State to be Vice-President of the Council of State.

Art. 33.

The Hereditary Prince shall be, by right, a Member of the Council of State, and shall take his seat therein, when he has completed his eighteenth year.

The Prince Sovereign may admit the Princes of his house into the Council; but the number of the ordinary Members shall undergo no diminution on that account.

Art. 34.

The Prince Sovereign may (if he thinks fit) appoint extraordinary Counsellors of State, in equal number with the ordinary Counsellors, but without salary; and he may either assemble them in the Council, or take their opinion out of the Council, as he may think proper.

Art. 35.

The Prince Sovereign forms the Ministerial Departments, and appoints or removes their chiefs, at his pleasure.

He summons one or more of them to assist at the deliberations of the Council of State, whenever he thinks it necessary.

He may further appoint a Council of Trade and Colonies.

Art. 36.

The supreme authority in all the Colonies and possessions of the State in other quarters of the globe belongs exclusively to the Sovereign Prince.

Art. 37.

The Sovereign Prince declares war, or makes peace; and communicates the same to the States-General.

Art. 38.

In him alone is vested the right of concluding and ratifying alliances and treaties of peace, save that he is bound to communicate the same to the States-General:—and, accordingly, the management of Foreign Affairs entirely belongs to him, as well as the appointment and recall of Ambassadors, Ministers, and Consuls.

Art. 39.

The Prince Sovereign disposes of the fleets and armies. He appoints all military officers; if there be any motives, he grants them pensions; or he dismisses them from the service, if it be necessary.

Art. 40.

The Prince Sovereign has the supreme direction of the finances. He regulates the salaries of all the departments, and

Officers of the State, and enters them in the estimate for the public expenditure.

Art. 41.

The Prince Sovereign possesses the right of coinage, and the supreme direction of the same.

He may have his effigy struck upon the coin.

Art. 42.

The Prince Sovereign confers the rank of nobility. All those on whom the Sovereign Prince confers nobility are to exhibit their grants or letters patent to the States of the province or district to which they belong, and they participate immediately in all the privileges attached to that rank, particularly in the faculty of being elected a Member of the Nobility, or *Ridderschap*, provided they comply with what is required for that purpose.

Art. 43.

Should the Prince Sovereign be desirous of instituting an Order of Knighthood, he proposes a law to that effect to the States-General.

Art. 44.

Foreign Orders of Knighthood, which impose no obligations, may be accepted by the Prince Sovereign, and the Princes of his House.

Subjects, inhabitant, are not allowed to accept of foreign orders, without the particular permission of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 45.

The special permission of the Prince Sovereign is also required, to accept foreign titles, dignities, or commissions. No Netherlander shall, in future, be allowed to accept letters patent of foreign nobility.

Art. 46.

The Prince Sovereign has a right to propose laws, and make other proposals to the States-General; and he may approve or reject the propositions made to him by the States-General.

His approbation shall be signified in the following terms:—

"The Prince Sovereign assents to the proposal."

A rejection shall be expressed in the following words:—

"The Prince Sovereign will consider the proposal made to him."

Art. 47.

The Prince Sovereign promulgates the laws in the following form:—

"We, &c.

"Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands; the Council of State having

been heard, to all those who may see or hear these presents, greeting! Be it known:—Whereas we have taken into our consideration, that, &c.

[Here the preamble or motives of the law are to be inserted.]

"We, therefore, in concurrence with the States-General, have resolved and decreed, and do hereby resolve and decree:—That, &c.

[Here insert the enactment of the law.]

"Given, &c."

Art. 48.

The Prince Sovereign decides all differences which may arise between two or more Provinces or Districts, in cases where he is unable to settle them in an amicable manner.

Art. 49.

The Prince Sovereign has the power of granting pardon, remission, and reprieves of punishment, after having consulted the High Court of the United Netherlands.

Art. 50.

Besides the cases wherein the right of dispensation shall be by law recognised in the Prince Sovereign, he may likewise, when the States-General are not assembled, grant dispensation in all such peculiar cases as cannot conveniently suffer delay, after having consulted the High Court of the United Netherlands; and he gives notice of an explanation thereof to the States-General at their next meeting.

Art. 51.

In the cases alluded to in the Articles 8, 10, 11, and 24, the States-General are to be convoked in double numbers, conformably to what shall be regulated in respect thereof in the 9th chapter.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE STATES-GENERAL.

Article 52.

The States-General represent the whole people of the United Netherlands.

Art. 53.

The people of the United Netherlands consist of the inhabitants of the nine following provinces, or districts, which together form the present territory of the United Provinces of the Netherlands in Europe, viz. Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, Groningen, Brabant, and Drenthe.

Art. 54.

Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, Groningen, Brabant,

and Drenthe, keep their ancient boundaries, with the following exceptions:

Kuilenburg and Buren are united with Gelderland.

Vianen, Ameiden, Leerdam, Langerack, and Sommelsdyk with Holland.

Ysseltein, together with Benschop, Noordpolsbroek, and Jaarsveld with Utrecht.

Amelande and Schiermonikoog with Friesland.

Wedde and Westwoldingerland with Groningen.

Brabant consists, provisionally, of all the territories and towns formerly known under the name of the Territories of the Generality (*Generaliteits-Landen*), and of such others as have been subsequently acquired and added to that province.

Art. 55.

The law determines the further limits of the provinces and districts, as also to

which of them shall be added such other districts and places as have been subsequently acquired, or which were under the jurisdiction of different provinces, or which have been the subject of dispute.

Art. 56.

The Assembly of the States-General shall consist of fifty-five members. The aforesaid provinces and districts elect them in the following proportion: Gelderland 6, Holland 22, Zeeland 3, Utrecht 3, Friesland 5, Overyssel 4, Groningen 4, Brabant 7, Drenthe 1.

Art. 57.

All the members thus elected shall sit for three years; at the end of this term, one third part of them will, annually, resign their seats. The first resignation shall take place on the 1st of November, 1817. Those who go out shall be immediately re-eligible.

Art. 58.

The Prince Sovereign may hereafter propose a law, which shall secure to the nobility, or *Ridderschap*, of each province, or district, a certain proportional number of seats in the States-General, amounting to at least one fourth of the whole number of the Members of that Assembly.

Art. 59.

No persons can be elected Members of the States-General but such as are natives of the Netherlands, and have attained the age of thirty years, and are inhabitants of the province or district for which they are chosen. Their relationship to each other must not be nearer than the third degree of consanguinity, or matrimonial affinity.

Art. 60.

The Members of the States-General cannot be, at the same time, Members of

any Court of Judicature, or of the Chamber of Accounts; nor hold any office accountable to the country, in respect of money.

The Members of the Provincial States, on being elected to the States-General, cease to be Members of the Provincial States.

No naval or military officer, holding a lower rank than that of Field-officer, can be a Member of the States-General.

None of the other High Officers of State are excluded from being members of the States-General.

Art. 61.

The title of the Assembly of the States-General is *Noble and Mighty Lords.*

Each Member of the Assembly shall receive 2500 florins yearly.

Art. 62.

All Members of the States-General vote according to their free and individual

opinions, without receiving any direction or instruction from their constituents.

Each Member, on entering upon his functions, shall take the following oaths, according to the forms of his religious persuasion:—

" I swear, (or declare,) that, in order to " become a Member of the Assembly of " the States-General, I have not promised, " or given, and will not promise or " give, either directly or indirectly, to any " person, in or out of the administration, " under any pretence, any gratuity or " gift whatsoever.

" I swear, (or promise,) that I will " conform myself exactly to the decree of " the States-General, of the 10th of De- " cember, 1715, against the taking or " giving of prohibited gifts, gratuities, and " presents:

" *So help me God.*"

"I swear, (or I promise,) that I will "observe and maintain the Constitution "of the United Netherlands; that I will "promote the independence of the State, "and the freedom and welfare of the "people, with all my power, without re- "gard to any but the general interest:

"So help me God."

Art. 63.

These oaths shall be made to the Sovereign Prince, in the Council of State, or, in his absence, to the Council itself, who shall receive them in his name.

Notice of their having been made shall be given by the Prince Sovereign, or in his name, to the Assembly of the States-General, immediately after which the newly-elected Member shall take his seat.

Art. 64.

"The States-General shall assemble, at least, once every year; and, at all times,

at the summons of the Sovereign Prince, as often as he shall think it necessary. Their ordinary meetings take place on the first Monday in November, in each year.

Art. 65.

The assembly of the States-General shall be opened by the Prince Sovereign, in person, or, in his name, by Commissioners; and it shall be prorogued in the same manner, whenever he thinks that the interests of the country no longer require the Session to continue.

Art. 66.

The President of the Assembly of the States-General shall be chosen by the Prince Sovereign from three names, presented to him by them, and he continues in function from the opening to the closing of the Assembly.

The States-General shall appoint their *Greffier.*

Art. 67.

The Assembly of the States-General shall decide all matters before them by a majority of votes.

Art. 68.

The States-General deliberate upon all proposals made by the Prince Sovereign, and communicate their decision to him by a commission.

The assent shall be declared in the following form:—

" The States-General of the United " Netherlands return thanks to the Prince " Sovereign, for his zeal in promoting the " interests of the country, and concur " with his proposal."

When any proposal is not adopted, notification thereof shall be given to the Prince Sovereign, in the following form:—

" The States-General of the United " Netherlands present their thanks to the " Prince Sovereign, for his zeal in pro- " moting the interests of the country, but " respectfully request that he will be " pleased to take into further considera- " tion the subject of his proposal.

Art. 69.

The States-General enjoy the right of submitting proposals to the Prince Sovereign, and of transmitting them by a commission.

Art. 70.

The assent of the States-General is necessary to the yearly estimate of the expenses of the State. This estimate shall be transmitted to them by the Prince Sovereign, and they deliberate upon the means of raising the supplies accordingly.

Art. 71.

The project of the Prince Sovereign, relative to the Finances, which he transmits to the States-General immediately on their first ordinary meeting, is divided into two heads.

The first head includes all such certain and usual charges as arise out of the ordinary course of things, and particularly relate to the peace establishment, and which require, therefore, to be regulated on a permanent footing.

The second head includes such extraordinary and uncertain expenses as must be regulated, especially in time of war, by existing circumstances.

The first, on being approved by the States-General undergoes no change, excepting in cases where certain articles of expenditure may be altered, or become wholly unnecessary.

The second is voted only for one year.

Art. 72.

All the supplies are to be exclusively applied to the objects for which they have been granted.

The Prince Sovereign shall cause a detailed report to be laid before the States-General of the manner in which the supplies have been employed during the preceding year.

CHAP. III.

OF THE STATES OF THE PROVINCES OR DISTRICTS.

Art. 73.

THERE shall be assemblies of the States of the different provinces or districts.

Art. 74.

These shall be formed, according to the principles of this Constitution, by the Prince Sovereign; who shall appoint a commission in each province to assist him with their advice in this respect.

Art. 75.

The proceedings of these provincial States shall be determined by such *Regulations* as they shall think proper to establish, (al-

ways with reference to what is prescribed on that subject by the present fundamental law;) and they are to be sanctioned by the Prince Sovereign, in case of his approval. The first business of these States, shall be the formation of such *Regulations*.

Art. 76.

There shall be Commissioners of the Prince Sovereign in all the provinces or districts, under such denomination as he may think proper. He shall furnish them with the instructions which he may deem fit for the exercise of the authority, vested in him by this Constitution.

These Commissioners shall preside in the Assemblies of the States, and likewise in such Committees as may be instituted by them in conformity to what is stipulated by Article 93.

Art. 77.

There shall be, in the provinces or districts, orders of Nobility, or *Ridderschap-*

pen; whose statutes shall be regulated by themselves, but in a manner conformable to this Constitution; and which must receive the sanction of the Prince Sovereign.

Their first convocation, as well as their admission, shall be ordered and granted by the Prince Sovereign, according to circumstances. They shall form their *Regulations* immediately after their first meeting.

Art. 78.

The Magistracies shall be composed in such a manner, and charged with such duties, as shall be determined by the *Regulations*, to be framed (in conformity to the Constitution) by the present Municipalities; or by such special commissions as the Prince Sovereign may be pleased to appoint.

These *Regulations* are to be submitted by the Municipalities, or by the Commissions, to the consideration of the States

of the provinces or districts; who, having deliberated upon them, shall submit the same to the sanction of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 79.

In all towns, *Electoral-Colleges* shall be introduced, such as heretofore existed in several of them. They shall be summoned, once a year by the Magistrates for the sole purpose of filling up, by competent persons, such places in them as shall have become vacant during the past year.

Art. 80.

The vacancies in the *Electoral-Colleges* shall be supplied by a majority of votes of such resident Burghers, as pay a certain proportion of the public contributions; which, for each town, shall be determined by the *Regulations* of the province or district. Every such citizen delivers his vote, annually, in writing, and properly signed

and sealed, to a person who shall be appointed by the Magistrates to collect the votes at every house.

Art. 81.

The Magistracies of the lordships, districts, and villages, shall be regulated respectively in such manner as shall be deemed most suitable to their peculiar circumstances, to the interests of the inhabitants, and to the legitimate right of the persons interested; and the whole, in conformity to the present fundamental law, and according to ulterior *Regulations*, to be framed by order of the States; who, after they have approved them, shall submit them to the Prince Sovereign for his ratification.

Art. 82.

Each Member of the Provincial Assemblies shall take, on entering upon his functions, (according to the forms of the

religious persuasion, which he professes), the following oaths:—

"I swear, (or declare), that, in order to become a Member of the States of this province, or district, I have not promised, or given, nor will promise, or give, either directly or indirectly, to any person, in or out of the administration, any gift or gratuity, under any denomination or pretence whatever.

"I swear (or promise), that, I will conform myself strictly to the decree of the States-General of the 10th of December, 1715, against the receiving or giving of prohibited gratuities, donations, and presents:

"So help me God."

"I swear, (or promise), that first, and above all things, I will maintain the fundamental law of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; and that, I will further practice, and observe, the *Regulations*

made, or to be hereafter made, for this province, or district; and, finally, that I will promote, to the utmost of my power, the welfare of this province, or district;

"So help me God."

These oaths shall be made before the Commissioners of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 83.

The States of the provinces and districts shall assemble, at least, once every year; and as often as they shall be called together by the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 84.

They submit the expenses of their administration to the Prince Sovereign, who, in case of his approval, includes them in the estimate of the expenses of the State.

Art. 85.

The States of the provinces, or districts, shall have the right of electing the Deputies

to the Assembly of the States-General, either from their body or not; and, as much as possible, from all parts of their respective Provinces.

Art. 86.

They are charged with the execution of the laws and ordinances, respecting the promotion of public worship, public instruction, charitable institutions, the encouragement of agriculture, of industry, commerce, manufactures, and trade; and in general, all that relates to the public welfare, when those laws and ordinances shall have been transmitted to them by the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 87.

The jurisdiction of the Provincial States over the *Waterstaat* or Hydraulic Department of their Province is defined in Chapter VII.

Art. 88.

To the same States are entirely con-

fided the direction and decision of every thing belonging to the ordinary internal police and economy of their Provinces.

They are to make, in this respect, as also with respect to the appointment of functionaries, or the presentation or nomination to public situations, such ordinances and *Regulations*, as they shall judge most conducive to the advantage of the inhabitants, provided they be consistent with the present fundamental law, and receive the approbation of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 89.

They are to take care, that the transit, and the import and export of the different provinces, suffer no impediment, in cases where no particular regulations have yet been made to that effect by the general laws.

Art. 90.

They are to endeavour to conciliate

amicably all differences between towns, districts, lordships, and villages. If they cannot succeed in effecting this, they are to submit the case to the decision of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 91.

They are not to form any resolutions contrary to the general laws, or interests of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. If any such case should occur, the Prince Sovereign shall have the power of suspending such resolutions, and of rendering them void.

Art. 92.

They are allowed to expound the interests of their Provinces or Districts, and of the inhabitants thereof, to the Prince Sovereign, and the States-General.

Art. 93.

They may appoint, if they think it ne-

cessary, one or more Committees from among themselves, to sit for the management of the provincial affairs, as well during their own session as after their adjournment.

Art. 94.

The Magistracies of towns, districts, lordships, and villages, shall have the free management of their own domestic concerns, in conformity to the contents of their *Regulations*, and shall make all necessary local regulations with respect to them, provided that these *Regulations* be not prejudicial to the general laws, or to the common interest of the inhabitants.

Art. 95.

Although, in virtue of the preceding article, the management of all local concerns remains with the local authorities; yet they are bound and required to submit to the Provincial States, a statement of their

income and expenditure, and to act in conformity to such orders as the States may think proper to give relative thereto.

Art. 96.

As it may be found requisite to levy some taxes in addition to the ordinary revenues, to cover local expenditures, the aforesaid Magistracies are strictly to conform themselves to what has been stipulated, in that respect, by the laws, ordinances, and general regulations concerning the finances.

Previous to the levying any such taxes, they are to transmit their project to the States of the Province for approval, annexing thereunto an exact statement of their wants.

In the examination thereof, the States are particularly to keep in view, that the proposed taxes do not burthen the free importation and transit of the produce of the soil, or of the industry of other pro-

vinces, towns, orplaces, beyond those of the place itself, where the tax is imposed.

Art. 97.

The Provincial States shall transmit all the estimates of the income and expenditure, after having approved them, to the Prince Sovereign; who, if he think fit, may require such insight into the details of these estimates, and all other acts of the local Magistracies, as he may judge necessary; and, in case of need, he may suspend the acts, or render them altogether void. With respect to the examination and settling of the accounts of the local administrations, the Prince Sovereign shall prescribe the form.

Art. 98.

The aforesaid administrations may recommend to the Prince Sovereign and the States of their respective Provinces, the interests of their fellow-citizens.

CHAPTER IV.

OF JUSTICE.

Art. 99.

THROUGHOUT every part of the United-Provinces of the Netherlands, judgment shall be pronounced, and justice administered, in the name and on the behalf of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 100.

A *General Code* of Law, civil, penal, and commercial, fixing the judicial power and forms of proceeding, shall be introduced.

Art. 101.

In order to insure to the inhabitants of these Provinces the inestimable preroga-

tives of civil liberty and personal security, the following rules shall constitute the basis of the legal dispositions:

a. Whenever, under extraordinary circumstances, an inhabitant shall be arrested by political authority, the person, by whose order such arrest has taken place, shall be bound to give immediate notice thereof to the judge of the place, and, moreover, to cause the prisoner to be delivered to his competent judge within three days after his arrest.

The criminal tribunals are authorized and bound to watch, each within its jurisdiction, over the punctual observance of this provision.

b. The judicial power is to be exercised only by the tribunals established by, or in consequence of, this fundamental law.

c. No person can be taken, without his consent, from before the judicial authority that the law has assigned to him.

d. The confiscation of property belonging to a condemned person, can never be imposed as a punishment for any crime of whatever nature it may be.

e. In all criminal judgments given against an offender, the crime must be specified.

f. All judgments must be pronounced in open court.

Art. 102.

There shall be established a supreme Court of Justice, under the name of the High Court of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

The Members are to be chosen, as much as possible, out of all the Provinces or Districts.

Art. 103.

In case of any vacancy, notice thereof is to be given by the High Court to the States-General, who are to propose three persons to the Prince Sovereign, of whom he chooses one. The Prince Sovereign appoints the Attorney-General of the High Court.

Art. 104.

The Members of the Assembly of the States-General, the Heads of the Ministerial Departments, the Members of the Council of State, and the Commissioners of the Prince Sovereign in the Provinces or Districts, are subject to the jurisdiction of the High Court, for all misdemeanors committed by them in the exercise of their public duties. They cannot however be cited to appear until special leave be previously given to that effect by the States-General.

Art. 105.

The High Court likewise takes cognizance of, and passes judgment on, all offences committed by public functionaries during the time of their being in office; and likewise of all offences committed by Members of such other High Departments as may hereafter be appointed by law.

Art. 106.

The High Court judges, in all cases wherein the Prince Sovereign, the Members of his Family, or the State, appear as defendants.

Art. 107.

The High Court has the superintendance of the regular course and termination of all law-suits, of the observance of the laws concerning the administration of justice, and the method of proceeding of all

Courts, Tribunals, and Justices; and can reverse and annul such of their acts, measures, and judgments, as may be contrary to the laws, but without entering into the discussion of the case.

Art. 108.

An appeal against all judgments in civil causes, given, in the first instance, by the Provincial Courts, may be made to the High-Court, in conformity to the provisions hereafter to be made by law in this respect.

Art. 109.

There shall be, in each Province, or District, a Court of Justice; unless where one Court is established, by law, for more than one Province or District. This Court is to give notice of all vacancies to the Provincial States, who, for the filling up of the same, shall propose to the Prince

Sovereign three persons, of whom he is to select one.

The Prince Sovereign has the immediate nomination of the Attorney-General for each of the aforesaid Courts.

Art. 110.

The administration of criminal justice, in the United-Provinces of the Netherlands, is entrusted to the Provincial Courts, or to such other Tribunals as it may be necessary to establish for that purpose, to the exclusion of all jurisdictions heretofore existing.

Art. 111.

The administration of civil justice shall be exercised by such Tribunals, as at present, or hereafter may be deemed necessary.

Art. 112.

In other respects, the Constitution and authority of the Courts, as well as of the

other criminal and civil Tribunals, known by the name of High-Tribunals, *(Hooge-Vierschaaren)*, the Benches of Sheriffs *(Schepenen-Banken)*, or others, and the authority of the Attornies-General, High-Sheriffs, and Bailiffs, shall be determined by law.

Art. 113.

The Members and Officers of the High Court, and of the Provincial Courts of Justice, as also their Attornies-General, are appointed for life. The duration in office of all other judges shall be determined by law.

No judge can be removed from his office, during the period of his administration, except at his own request, or by judicial sentence.

Art. 114.

The law shall determine the method of proceeding to be observed, in cases of transgression, with respect to taxes, of whatever description they may be.

Art. 115.

There shall be a High Military Tribunal, which shall take cognizance of all offences, committed by persons in the army and navy, according to the regulations to be established by law.

Art. 116.

With respect to civil matters, all Members of the Army and Navy shall be subject to the civil authorities.

CHAP. V.

OF THE FINANCES.

Art. 117.

THE Prince Sovereign and the States-General, have the sole and exclusive right to levy and regulate taxes.

The taxes existing at the period of the acceptance of this present Constitution shall be continued on the same footing, until it be otherwise provided by law.

Art. 118.

The public debt shall be annually taken into consideration, for the purpose of promoting the interest of the public creditors.

Art. 119.

The superintendance and care of the Mint, and whatever relates to it, as also

the decision with respect to alloy, assay, &c. shall be entrusted to a Commission, under the denomination of the *College of Counsellors*, and *Masters-General of the Mint;* who shall receive instructions to be enacted by law.

In the case of a vacancy, the States-General shall transmit a nomination of three persons to the Prince Sovereign, from among whom he shall make his choice.

Art. 120.

There shall be a *General Chamber of Accounts*, appointed to examine and liquidate, annually, the accounts of the several Ministerial Departments, and to demand the accounts of all public accountants; in conformity to such provisions as shall be enacted by law.

The Members of this Chamber of Accounts are to be taken, as much as possible, from all the Provinces.

In the case of a vacancy, the States-General are to transmit to the Prince Sovereign a nomination of three persons, from among whom he is to select one.

CHAPTER VI.

OF DEFENCE.

Art. 121.

To take arms, for the maintenance of the independence of the State and for the protection of its territory, (according to the ancient custom of the land, and the principles adopted at the Union of Utrecht), is one of the first duties of all the inhabitants of the country.

Art. 122.

Accordingly, it will, at all times, be one of the first cares of the Prince Sovereign, to maintain a sufficient naval and military force, by an enrolment of volunteers, either natives or foreigners, to serve in or out of Europe, according to circumstances.

Art. 123.

Besides the established Naval and Military force, there shall be constantly kept on foot, a *National Militia*, one fifth part of which shall be annually discharged in time of peace, and be supplied by an equal number, to be taken, as far as possible, from volunteers, or otherwise, by ballot, from among all unmarried men, from eighteen to twenty-two years of age. Those who shall obtain their discharge, shall, on no pretext, be called upon for any other service, except that of the City Guard *(Schuttereyen)*, hereafter to be mentioned.

Art. 124.

The Militia shall be called out once every year, in ordinary times, for about one month, to be trained to arms. The Prince Sovereign, however has the power to order a fourth part of the whole num-

ber to remain embodied, whenever he may judge it expedient for the interests of the country. If extraordinary circumstances, or the danger of approaching war, should render it necessary to call out the whole of the Militia, and to keep them embodied, while the States-General are not assembled, such proceeding shall be accompanied by an extraordinary convocation of the States, to communicate to them the step which has been taken, and to arrange with them such further measures as may be deemed necessary.

Art. 125.

A City-guard *(Schuttereyn)* shall be raised and organised in all the towns, as in former times, for the maintenance of public tranquillity. They may also be employed in time of war and danger, to repel the attacks of an enemy. In that case, a force shall also be raised in the open country, which, together with those in the

towns, will form a General Levy for the defence of the nation.

Art. 126.

The Regulations which are judged necessary by the Prince Sovereign, as well for the number and organisation of the Militia, as with respect to the General Levy, shall form the subject of a law to be proposed by him.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE HYDRAULIC DEPARTMENT (WATERSTAAT), OR THE PRESERVATION OF DYKES, SLUICES, EMBANKMENTS, &c.

Art. 127.

THE preservation of Dykes, Sluices, and Embankments, is one of the most important National concerns; it shall be conducted by a special administration, under the appointment and superintendence of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 128.

Accordingly, all such Sea and River-Dykes, Sluices, and other Water-works as are maintained out of the public revenue, belong exclusively to the direction of the General Department for the Preservation of Dykes, &c.

All works of this nature, the expenses of which are defrayed by any Colleges, Communities, or private Persons, are placed under the immediate inspection of the General Department; which provides that the works that are constructing do not impair the general interests, and issues instructions to that effect, to the several Colleges, Communities, or Individuals.

Art. 129.

Under the exclusive controul of the aforesaid Department are, likewise, all Roads and Bridges which are kept in repair at the public expense, or which, from motives of general expediency, are placed under their direction by the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 130.

The States of the Provinces and Districts have the management of all such

Dykes, Sluices, and other Water-works, together with all such Bridges and Roads within their respective Provinces or Districts, as do not fall within the terms of Articles 128 and 129; or which, being included therein, may, for the general good, be placed under their direction by the Prince Sovereign. And, when the works above specified are to be constructed and kept in repair by Colleges, Corporate Bodies, Communities, or Individuals, the Provincial States are to take care that they are conducted conformably to the foregoing Regulations.

Art. 131.

These States have also, within their Provinces or Districts, the inspection of and authority over all High and other Bank-Reeves, Water-Reeves, and Dyke, or Marsh-Administrations, and other similar Colleges, under whatever denomination they may

exist; subject to the Regulations provided in the second paragraph of Article 128.

'The last Regulations approved by these Colleges form the basis of their institution; reserving, however, to the States the power of making such alterations therein, as, with the approval of the Prince Sovereign, they shall think proper, but without prejudice to the right of the Colleges to propose to the States such changes as, for the benefit of the Landholders, they may deem fit. With respect to nominations to the aforesaid Colleges, it is left to the States of the Provinces or Districts, to submit the same for the approval of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 132.

With regard to the management or inspection, which, by Article 130 is, or hereafter may be, assigned to the Provincial States, all works therein alluded to remain subject to the superintendence of

the Prince Sovereign; who, as exigency may require, may act with respect to them as to all other matters provided in Article 91.

CHAP. VIII.

OF RELIGION, PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE POOR.

Art. 133.

THE Reformed Christian Religion is that of the Prince Sovereign.

Art. 134.

All existing Religions shall be equally protected; and all those who profess them, shall enjoy the same civil privileges, and have an equal right to the acquirement of dignities, offices, or employments.

Art. 135.

Every form of Religious Worship is tolerated, so far as it does not tend to disturb public order and tranquillity.

Art. 136.

The *Reformed Christian Church* shall receive from the Public Treasury, all such Salaries, Pensions, and Grants of Money, for the support of Widows and Children, and also for School and University expenses, as were formerly paid to the Clergy, whether they proceeded immediately from the Public Treasury, or arose from ecclesiastical property, or from certain local revenues set apart for that purpose.

Art. 137.

All the subsidies which, of late years, have been granted by the Public Treasury to other religious Communities, shall also be continued to them.

Art. 138.

Provision may, likewise, upon due application, be made by the Prince Sovereign, in concert with the States-General,

for the relief of such other religious communities as hitherto have not received any supplies, or whose supplies have been inadequate.

Art. 139.

The Prince Sovereign, independently of his right and duty to exercise such superintendence over all religious communions as may be deemed beneficial for the interests of the State, has, likewise, that of inquiring into, and regulating the Institutions of such of those communions, as in virtue of the preceding Articles, enjoy any payment or supply out of the Public Treasury.

Art. 140.

In order to promote Religion, as one of the strongest pillars of the State, and to concur in the general dissemination of knowledge, the public education in the high, middle, and low Schools, remains

a constant object of the care of the government.

The Prince Sovereign shall cause a detailed report of the state of these Schools to be annually laid before the States-General.

Art. 141.

The administration of the Poor, and the education of Poor-Children, are recommended to the particular and constant attention of the government, as an object of equal importance. The Prince Sovereign shall cause a detailed account of the Institutions of this nature, to be likewise annually laid before the States-General.

CHAP IX.

OF ADDITIONS, ALTERATIONS, AND EXPLANATIONS.

Art. 142.

If any addition to, or alteration of, this present Fundamental Law, shall hereafter be found necessary, the exigency thereof must be declared by a law, in which the proposed alteration or addition must be clearly stated and expressed.

Art. 143.

Such law, having been enacted by the Prince Sovereign and the States-General, is forthwith to be transmitted, in the usual manner, to the States of the Provinces or Districts, who, within the term prescribed by the law are to add, to the ordinary

Members of the States-General, an equal number of extraordinary Members, elected in the same manner as the ordinary ones.

Art. 144.

The Prince Sovereign, conjointly with the States-General thus assembled in double numbers, shall decide on the case proposed, in the manner above prescribed, for the enactment of the ordinary laws; with this sole exception, that there must be a majority of votes, of at least two-thirds of the Members present.

Art. 145.

The alterations of, or additions to, the Fundamental Law, shall be promulgated in the same manner as the ordinary laws, and solemnly incorporated into the Constitution.

Art. 146.

The interpretation and explanation of

any doubts which may present themselves in the application of any of the Articles of the present Fundamental Law, are referred, for the first three years following its acceptance, to the Commission which was appointed to prepare it.

If, after the expiration of these three years, any interpretation or explanation should be found necessary, the Prince Sovereign shall, in that case, convoke for that purpose an Assembly, composed of a number of Members equal to that of the States-General, and elected in the same manner, by the States of the Provinces.

THE END.

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